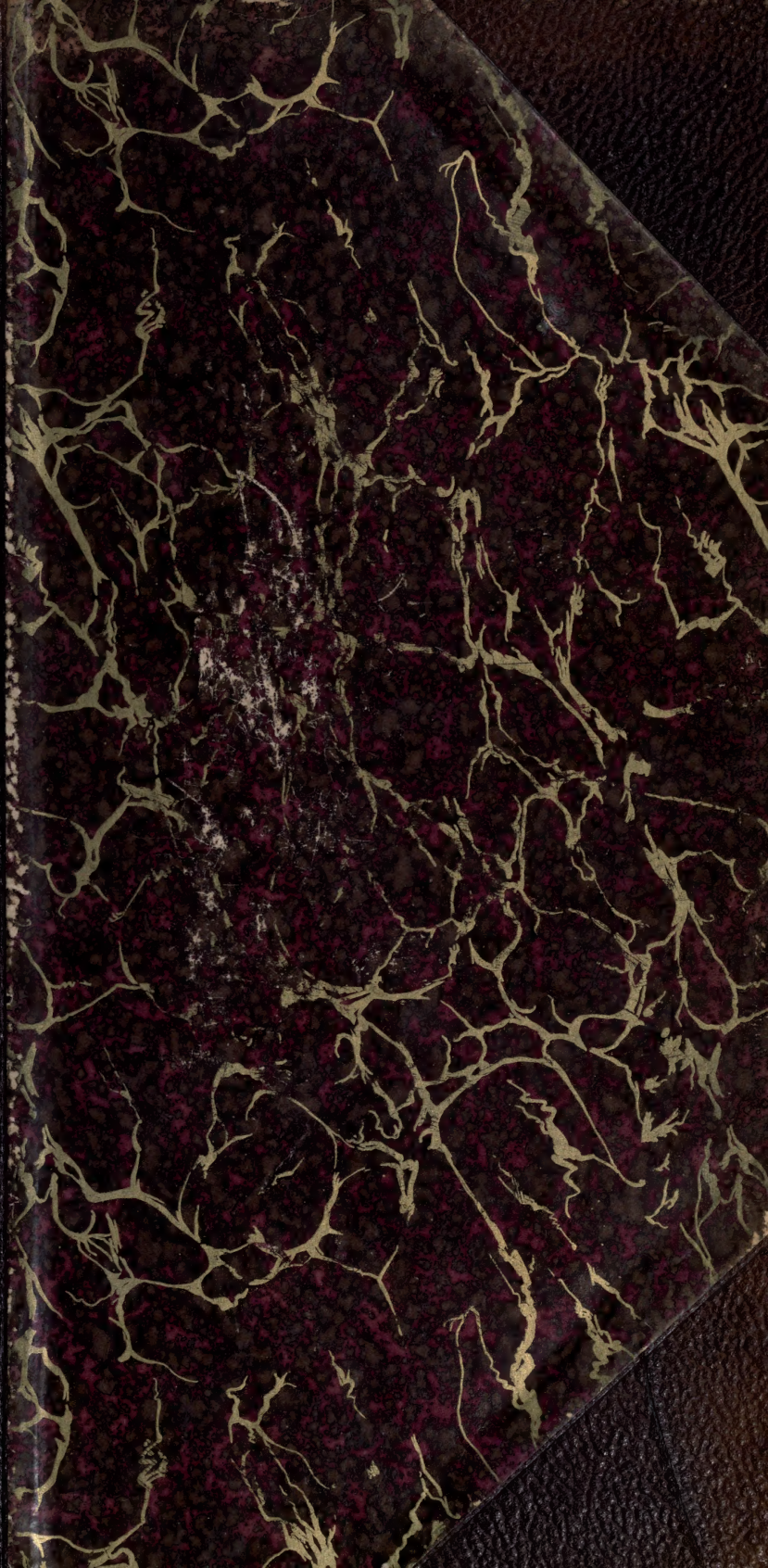
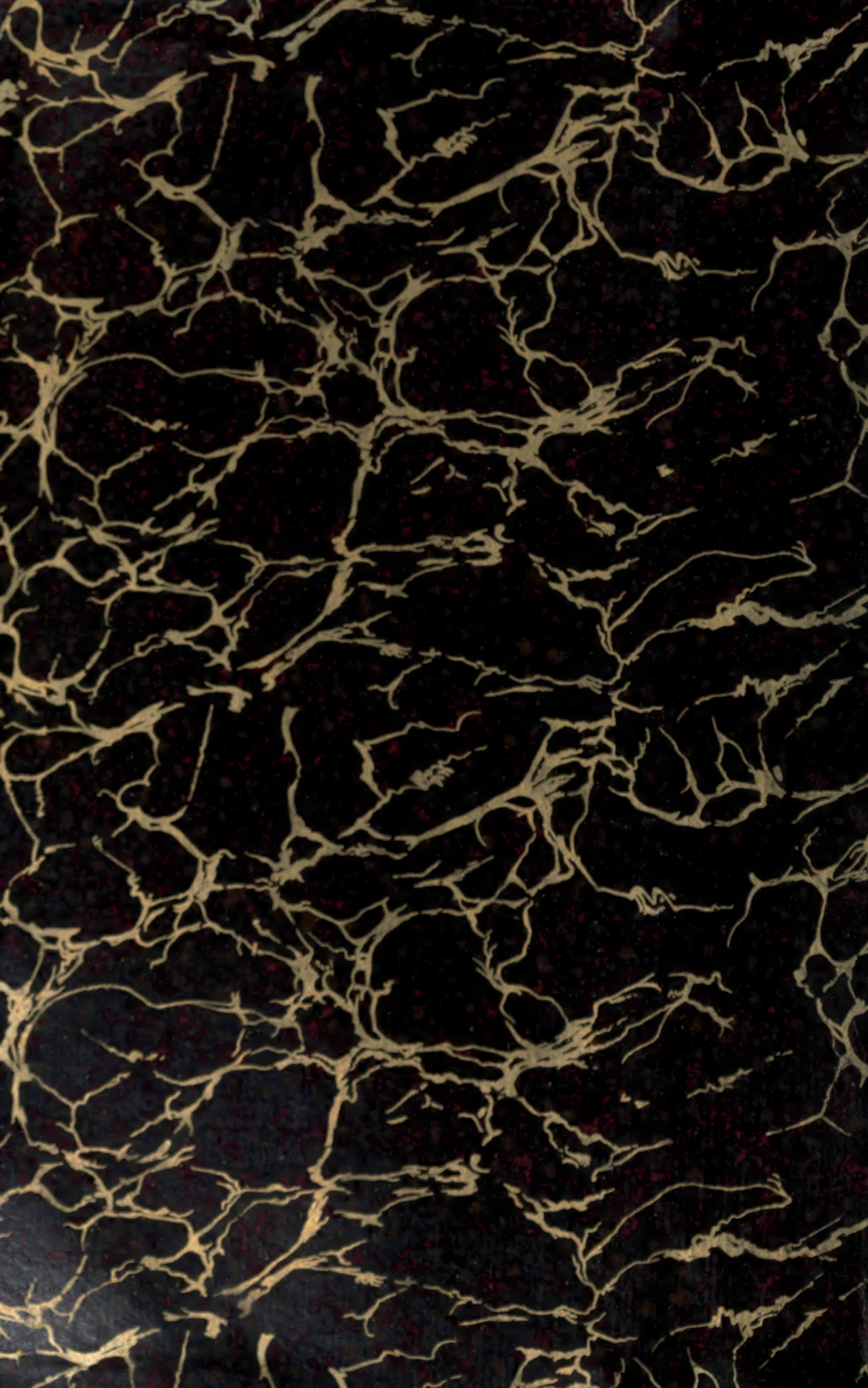


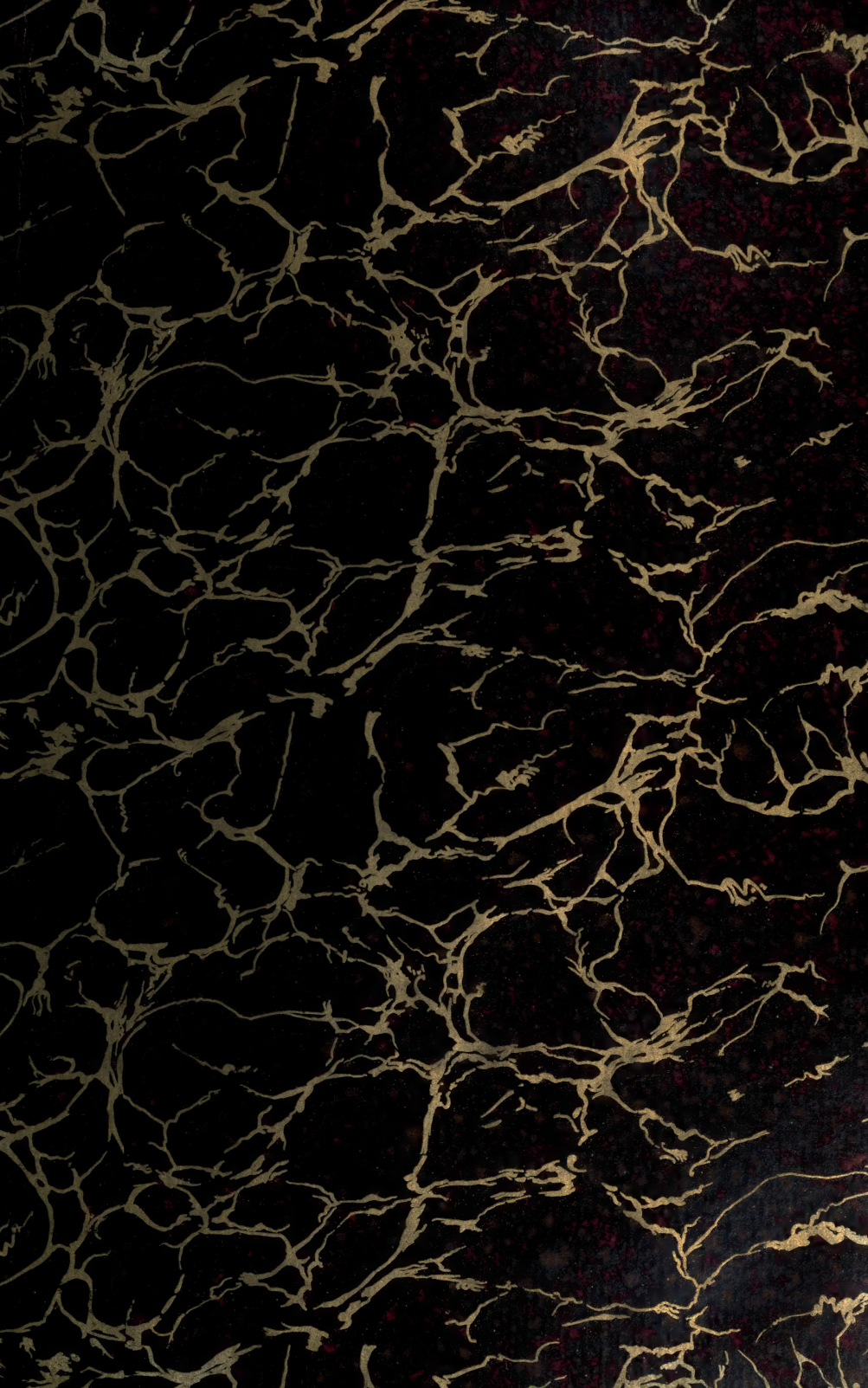


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A HISTORY OF QUAKER GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME II:  
The Quakers in the Revolution.



Haberford Edition

NON DOCTOR SED MELIORE DOCTRINA IMBUTUS

A HISTORY OF QUAKER GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME II:

The Quakers in the Revolution.



Third Edition

NEW DOCTORS AND MEDICAL DOCTRINES IN THE





"The South East Prospect of the  
City of Philadelphia,"  
1718.



- 1 The Draw Bridge  
2 Bala Building  
3 Edw Shippen's  
4 Ant Murrin's Brew Hou  
5 The Vineyard  
6 Jonathan Dickinson  
7 John Wilsin's  
8 Capt Anthony's  
9 George Painter's  
10 The Shippen's  
11 The Shippen's  
12 The Scales  
13 Jon. Carpenter's Stores  
14 Sam Carpenter's Stores  
15 Sam Carpenter's Dwelling Ho  
16 Sam Ferry  
17 The Blacking House  
18 The Court House  
19 Alm. Bickly's  
20 Thomas Masters's  
21 The Blacking House  
22 The Blacking House  
23 Tho. Chalkley's  
24 Penny Post House

Drawn and embellished by P. F. Goist after the original  
painting by Peter Ogger in the Philadelphia Library.



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Haverford Edition

A  
History of Quaker Government  
in Pennsylvania

VOLUME II:  
*The Quakers in the Revolution*

BY ISAAC SHARPLESS, LL. D.

*President of Haverford College*

"For my country I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him and to owe it to his hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it and desire that I may not be unworthy of his love and do that which may answer his kind providence and serve his truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there though not here for such a holy experiment."

WILLIAM PENN.



452308  
7.10.46

Philadelphia:  
T. S. LEACH & CO., PUBLISHERS

No. 29 North Seventh Street

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## PREFACE.

THE purpose of this monograph is neither to defend nor to condemn the position taken by the Friends of Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War; but as accurately as possible, in the light of contemporary writings found in the records of meetings, private letters and public documents, to state that position fairly.

It is not to be greatly wondered at that they have been misunderstood. They were friends of liberty, but opposed to war; desirous of maintaining their civil rights, but by other means than illegality and revolution, and unwilling to afford aid to the British; divided in their sympathies, but largely united in the stand that they could take no part in the strife of the day. Their attitude has thus been variously stated as one side or the other has been exclusively seen.

The question was at the time an important one. Up to this date they had been the most potent single political influence in the province, whose unequaled prosperity was largely due to the institutions and principles of their first great

leader, William Penn, and their own administration of affairs. It was felt by friend and foe alike that the attempt to draw unwilling Pennsylvania into the revolutionary movement would largely depend on the direction and extent of their influence. Unquestionably they, like most conservative and order-loving Philadelphians, opposed it in its early stages.

Whether this opposition would have been successful had Pennsylvania been left to itself is an open question, but when war and revolution became inevitable and their charter was cast aside, they issued a declaration of neutrality. They were neither Tories nor revolutionists. They did not seek protection within British lines nor join the American forces.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

*Haverford College,*  
1899.



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BARCLAY HALL, HAVERFORD COLLEGE,

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Half-tone, from a photograph.

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"We have a just sense of the value of our religious and civil liberties, and have ever been and are desirous of preserving them by all such measures as are not inconsistent with our Christian profession and principles, and though we believe it to be our duty to submit to the powers which in the course of Divine Providence are set over us, where there hath been or is any oppression or cause of suffering, we are engaged with Christian meekness and firmness to petition and remonstrate against it and to endeavor by just reasoning and arguments to assert our rights and privileges in order to obtain relief."

A FRIENDS' MINUTE OF 1775.



# The Quakers in the Revolution.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

The province of Pennsylvania, during the first three-quarters of a century of its existence, had made more rapid progress in numbers, wealth and internal peace and comfort than any other of the English colonies which lined the coast. At the end of this period, when our history begins, it contained perhaps two hundred thousand people, of whom one-eighth were in the city of Philadelphia. This city was, in number of inhabitants and in commerce, the chief city of America.

This rapid growth was due to the large immigration induced by religious liberty, peace with the Indians, and fertile and cheap land. Since 1701 the political institutions were governed by William Penn's last charter, with such modifications as the English Court chose to apply, with or without regard to previous promises.

The government included a lieutenant-governor (appointed by the Penns, who themselves

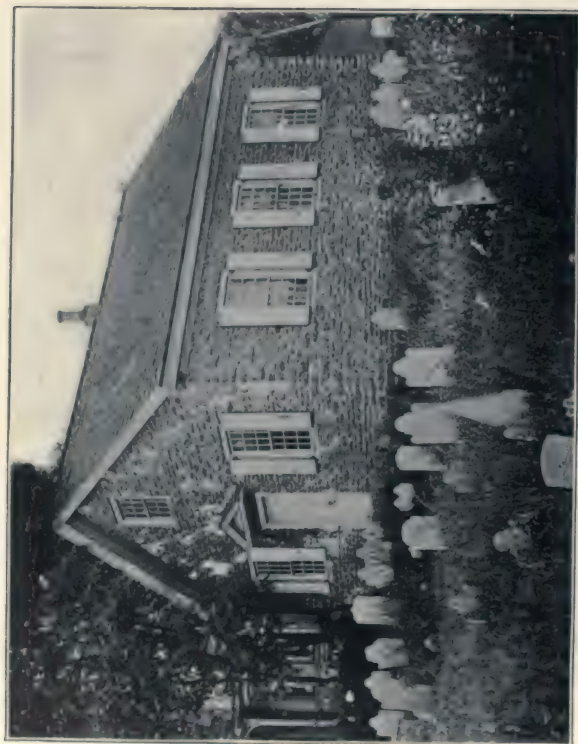
thus nominally held the post of Governor), who surrounded himself with a council of advisers. He had an unlimited veto over legislation, which he did not hesitate to exercise. The Assembly, which originated all laws, was a popularly-elected body. Every freeman owning fifty acres of land, or property worth fifty pounds, was entitled to vote. The judges were appointed by the Governor, and the other provincial officers were also appointed by him from twice the number of eligibles elected by the people.

Of religious bodies the Province possessed the greatest variety to be found in any part of the British possessions. The Friends, for perhaps twenty years after 1682, had a numerical ascendancy, which, by the increase of the other elements of the population, became a continually-decreasing minority. There may have been forty thousand in 1760.

The Germans began to come in immediately after the settlement of the Province. William Penn made particular efforts, through Benjamin Furly and others, to interest the dwellers along the Rhine holding sympathetic religious views with his own, and burdened with military exactions, in his new state. The stream once started, during the first half of the eighteenth







OLD MENNONITE MEETING-HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.

BUILT IN 1770.

century they came in ever-increasing numbers. James Logan became alarmed. In 1717 he writes: "We have great numbers of Palatines poured in upon us, without any recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own people." Still their numbers grew. Pennsylvania was their objective point, and they could not be prevailed upon to stop in New York. In one year (1749) as many as twelve thousand came to Philadelphia. They quickly pressed on into the country, leaving the city and its neighborhood undisturbed.

Of the Germans many were Mennonites, Dunkards and Schwenkfelders, who were at one with the Friends on the subjects of war and oaths, and simplicity of living and dress. Being quiet, unambitious farmers, they were content to allow the Quakers to govern them, and lived for two generations without material change in their habits of life or thought.

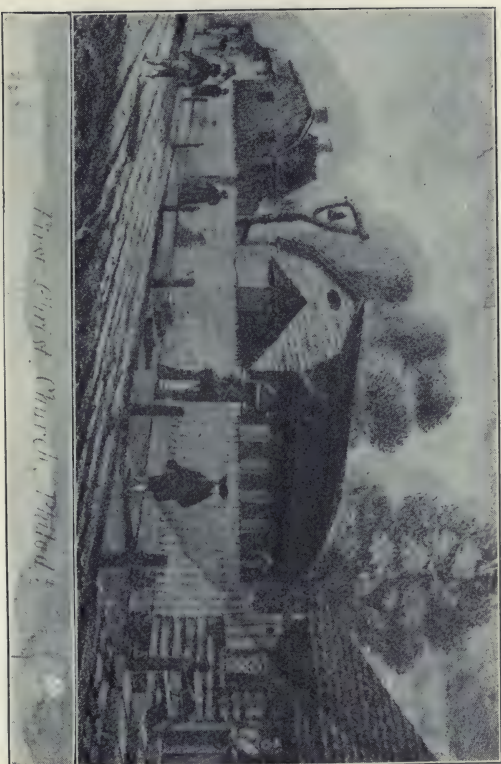
The Moravians came about 1740, and made Bethlehem the garden-spot of the Province. They lived almost an ideal life, devoted to righteousness and peace and the christianization of the Indians, in which last they were more successful than all other sects combined.



The German Reformed and the Lutherans, in numbers far exceeding any other German sects, came in during the years preceding the Revolution. Though to the Philadelphians they appeared, as they left their crowded boats in the Delaware River, to be boorish, uncleanly and uneducated, many of them were religious men of strong convictions and considerable learning. They added to the province an element of honesty, industry and conservatism, which, as a state, it has not lost.

The Church of England established itself in the very early days of the province, and maintained a steady growth, especially in the city of Philadelphia. Towards revolutionary times its members shared with Friends the commercial and social supremacy of the province.

The Presbyterians also became numerous in the city. Moreover, they were scattered widely through the country districts, and their energy resulted in many proselytes. Contemporaneous with the German immigration there was another of almost equal proportions from the north of Ireland, made up exclusively of Presbyterians. Some of these were well educated, and became the school teachers of the province. The most, however, were untaught, uncouth people, of rest-



# THE ORIGINAL CHRIST CHURCH.

*Built on the site of the present edifice, Second Street above Market, in 1696.*





less vigor, who sought the frontiers, making a fringe outside the German line. By their scorn of conciliation they rather invited Indian attacks, which no scruples prevented them from returning. Politically they were in the opposition through all the colonial days, but had their ascendancy during and after the Revolutionary war, which they largely supplied with soldiers, generals and statesmen.

Every Protestant Christian sect was politically the equal of every other. Catholics, Jews and Socinians could not hold office, but their numbers were small, and while provincial parties were often separated rather sharply by denominational boundaries, no tests gave one organization any advantage over the others. What was gained was by legitimate influence and honest public service.

The Friends had given up their control of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756. The war which the Governor and Council had declared against the Delaware Indians seemed to make it impracticable for uncompromising peace men to remain longer in the government. Their cautious brethren, whose influence was supreme in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, urged them to sacrifice place to principle. Their co-religionists in Eng-

land had asked the Ministry not to drive them out by the imposition of an oath, and had sent over a deputation to use personal influence with all legislators who had a membership among Friends to resign or refuse reëlection.

This seemed the only way to get them out. Though bitterly attacked for their unwillingness to provide military provisions, an attack hardly justified in late years by their record, they were strong in the confidence of the voters. Even in the disastrous times immediately following the defeat of Braddock, twenty-eight of the thirty-six Assemblymen elected were Friends, and there seemed to be no abatement of their popular strength. Though they were by this time influential by virtue of numbers and of commercial and social standing, they were yet a considerable minority of the total population.

The German bodies, who sympathized with their ethical views and appreciated their economical administration of the finances of the Province, and their successful defence of popular rights against proprietary pretensions, voted for them almost to a man. There could be seen not infrequently the spectacle of a community of Germans solidly voting for one of a handful of Quakers in their midst.

The resignation of ten of the Quaker members of the Assembly in 1756, and the refusal of others to accept a reëlection, reduced the membership to a small number. Yet for years it required the greatest efforts of the meetings, now thoroughly committed to a policy of non-participation in the exciting politics of the times, to keep out of civil office their less loyal members. There was always a Friendly minority up to the Revolutionary War,—a minority which, about 1763-4, amounted to nearly one-half of the Assembly; but in the main the church organization was effective. The spectacle of Quakers in the Assembly levying war taxes which Quakers outside of the Assembly refused to pay, was so unedifying that many, for the sake of harmony, refused to accept seats.

But while Quakers were thus in the minority, and the Yearly Meeting felt its skirts clear of responsibility for the actions of the Assembly, the "Quaker Party" was in full control, and the policy was shaped on the same lines as prior to 1756. The war taxes were levied perhaps a little more openly, but the struggle went on as resolutely as ever against the right of the Proprietors to interfere in the matter of raising money, against their right to bind the Governor



by secret instructions, and against their right to have their lands relieved from bearing a share of the public burdens.

The instincts developed in the ruling sect by three-quarters of a century of governmental control could not be suddenly rooted out. Pennsylvania was the glory of Quakerism. It was hard to yield to the force of adverse circumstances, but in their minds the vitality of the principle of peace was at stake, and after throes of internal conflict, the uncompromising spirit of ancient Quakerism triumphed even over the desire to perpetuate the "experiment," now no longer "holy," of the successors of William Penn.

The most of them, however, did not refuse to vote. It seems impossible to ascertain just what party devices existed for the purposes of nominating candidates and insuring unity of action, but whatever there were prior to 1756 were continued. The party, therefore, held together, and practically the only change was in the standard-bearers.

The opposition was drawn mainly on denominational lines, and consisted of Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The former gave their political support to the proprietors, who had now

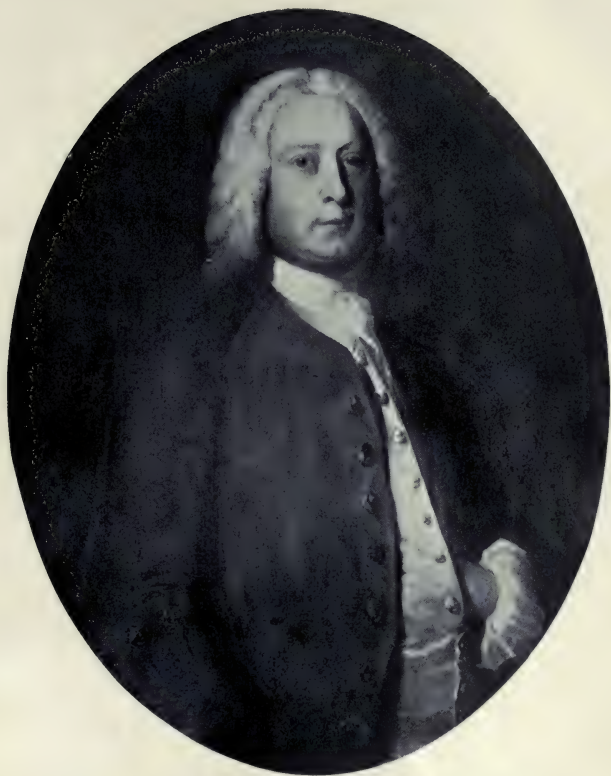
joined their church, and thus controlled the Executive Council. Many of the latter were the Scotch-Irish of the frontiers, a resolute and militant body, who felt the brunt of Indian attack, and while caring but little for the welfare of the Penns, were driven into their support by the desire to pursue a vigorous warfare against the barbarians who were murdering and ravishing their families and destroying the fruits of their labors. They did not attempt to conceal their scorn for the Quaker policy of feeding and conciliating the Indians, and were ever urging upon the Government the necessity of strenuous measures for killing them. The Quakers in turn looked upon them as radical opponents of their whole scheme of government, and as representing their former persecutors of Old and New England. A little later, when the aggressions of the English Government became the issue, there was a somewhat different alignment of parties, but now the Quaker and Presbyterian represented the two hostile extremes. The great body of Germans, quiet and conservative, never disturbing the Indians—notwithstanding, on account of their exposed position, they suffered to some extent from them—gave their large support steadily to the Quaker side. The superior num-

bers, political strength and social influence of the three oldest counties, including Philadelphia, and their large representation in the Assembly, gave overwhelming power to the same cause. These conditions enabled the "Quaker party" to maintain its unquestioned ascendancy steadily until the year 1776, when it suddenly fell to pieces and forever disappeared.

The proprietorship was now vested in the sons of the founder by his second wife, Thomas and Richard Penn, Thomas owning the larger share. They had vast financial interests in Pennsylvania, and the right to appoint the Governor, and, through their instructions to him, to veto legislation. He surrounded himself with a Council of his own and their selection, whose church affiliations were in the main those of the Proprietors.

Notwithstanding the injunctions of the Yearly Meeting, several prominent Friends retained official position through these years. William Logan, the son of James Logan, William Penn's secretary, was a member of the Governor's Council from 1743 to 1776, when it was dissolved. He gave his lonely vote against Indian wars, and while probably holding his father's views as to the propriety of war in certain circumstances, retained the respect both of the





THOMAS PENN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.



Penns, whose attorney he was, and of his ecclesiastical friends and relatives.

Isaac Norris, the "Speaker," as he is usually called, was the son of William Penn's confidential adviser, the sagacious, conscientious and wealthy Isaac Norris. He was elected a member of the Assembly, in 1734, from the city of Philadelphia, and served for thirty years. In early life he continually opposed all warlike measures, and the "Norris Party" had to encounter the violent opposition—amounting in one instance to a street riot—of those who advocated war with Spain, France and the Indians. He was uniformly successful at the polls, and in 1751 was made Speaker, which place he held by successive elections for fifteen years. It was he who suggested the inscription on the Liberty Bell, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." He was a valiant opponent of proprietary claims, and was appointed with Franklin, in 1757, as agent of the colony to ask the Crown to remove the grievances, but declined on account of ill-health. He opposed, however, the transfer of the Proprietors' rights to the Crown, and resigned his speakership in 1764, when the Assembly passed resolutions demanding it. He was, however, re-elected. He died in 1766.



He did not deem it necessary to resign in 1756 with the other Quaker members. As Speaker it became his duty to sign all acts passed by the Assembly, and his name attached to the bills making appropriations for definite military measures indicates the character of his views on the morality of war when wars seemed necessary. He was, however, greatly esteemed both by Friends and the general public for his ability, his character, and his love of liberty, tempered by conservative views of the means to be used for its protection.

The Pemberton brothers had a commanding influence in the years preceding the Revolution. They were much esteemed and trusted in public affairs, and, unlike Logan and Norris, were also actively interested in the management of the meetings. Their father, Israel Pemberton, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, was for nineteen years a member of the Assembly. His son Israel was also an Assemblyman and a leader in supporting the peace principles of his sect against the efforts of the governors. Later in life he became so much opposed to the trend of political affairs that he declined even to vote. He was the head of the Friendly Association, whose object was to preserve peace with the Indians; and

he took a prominent part in all conferences and treaties. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital, which ever since has been largely managed by Friends. James, not less prominent in the church, was far more of a politician, and his letters betray the continual desire of an active and aggressive mind to take part in the politics of the day, for which he was eminently fitted. He went into the Assembly when about thirty years old, but resigned in 1756 on account of the Indian war. Ten years later, the troubles being largely blown over, he again accepted an election, against the advice of many of his friends, only to give it up when the commotions preceding the Revolution made a sacrifice of principle again apparently inevitable. John, the third brother, was a preacher, with no apparent interest in public matters—a type of the “consistent” Friend.

The three brothers were all members of a band of a score of influential Quakers, who were banished to Virginia, in 1777, without trial, on account of supposed sympathy with the British.\*

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\* The Pembertons were in frequent correspondence with the Fothergills, the Barclays, and other prominent Friends of England, with Moses Brown, of Providence, and with the

William Denny was Lieutenant-Governor from 1756 to 1759. His career was one of continual conflict with the Assembly. He had given bonds to carry out the instructions of the Proprietors, which were in complete opposition to the popular wish as regards the financial measures which the colonial condition was thought to demand. He was not to consent to any bills for the emission of paper currency beyond a limited amount, or which did not place the expenditure of the proceeds in his own hands, and the grudging permission to tax proprietary estates was so coupled with difficult conditions as to render it unacceptable.

The French war was going on all the time of his administration, and while peace was made with some Indian tribes in 1758, chiefly through the agency of Friends and the "Friendly Association," the savages did not cease to ravage the frontier. The line of forts extending from Easton southwestwardly across the Province to the Maryland boundary was an inefficient pro-

---

active men of their own Yearly Meeting. This voluminous collection of letters is in existence, and contains reliable and graphic, though somewhat verbose, accounts of public affairs through the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary times from the standpoint of strict Friends. They will be frequently used in this book.



tection, and large sums were constantly needed for military defence. The Assembly did not seem averse to granting liberally for the purpose, but took advantage of the situation to make conditions strengthening their claims. Except the £600 voted him on his accession, in an outburst of hopeful loyalty, Governor Denny received no salary, and finally became convinced that his interests were more identified with the people than with the Proprietors. He assented to a bill taxing the proprietary estates, and was rewarded with £1,000. Another equal sum followed his assent to each of two other bills, and though he immediately lost his place, the £3,000 must have been a partial consolation.

Benjamin Franklin was at this time in England for the purpose of making terms with the Proprietors by treaty or pressure from the Crown, and very soon showed the diplomatic skill for which he afterwards became famous. His measures were not always scrupulous. In his endeavors to blacken the fame of the Proprietors, he wrote or issued the anonymous publication, the "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania," a tissue of misstatements and partisanship. The arrangements finally effected, in 1759, through his skilful management, wrested from the Proprie-

tors a consent to much that the Assembly had claimed.

The second administration of James Hamilton (1759-1763) followed the rather inglorious exit of Denny, and the struggle went on. A rising tide of resistance to proprietary claims covered the Province. The question most at issue was the right of the House, or the counter-right of the Executive, to control the expenditures. To be at the mercy of English owners, whose personal interests would, according to their construction, be in perpetual conflict with those of the Province—who, moreover, were not frank in their dealings with the representatives of the people, but tied down their agents with instructions under penal bonds, which it was difficult to ascertain, and which the agent had no authority to modify—would inevitably be productive of controversy. While the same power existed in earlier times, it was leniently exercised. Between 1710 and 1740 there was hardly a ripple of discontent, but every one thrived under and rejoiced in the beneficent charter. Immigration was active, trade grew, peace was secure, taxes were practically unfelt, and the powers of the Assembly were unquestioned. But during the latter year the first serious demands

were made for men and money for wars against England's enemies;—demands which grew greater with the succeeding years, causing great uneasiness among the peace men of the province, and stirring up disputes as to the methods to be employed in raising the money. These troubles gradually but manifestly changed Pennsylvania from a colony remarkably free, prosperous and unburdened, to one disunited and struggling under a heavy load of expenditure and consequent taxes.

The Assembly had been all these years the faithful conservators of the liberties of the people. Conscious that this condition had been forced upon them partly by the Crown and partly by the Proprietors, and that the warlike pressure was used to extort money by means destructive of liberty, they refused to make grants except when coupled with terms which secured popular rights. It were better to endure even the massacres on the frontiers than to have the Province brought more closely under the control of Proprietors who were using it as their private plantation for purposes of gain. "No man shall ever stand on my grave and say, 'Curse him; here lies he who betrayed the liberties of his country!'" declared their Speaker, Norris.



And now, after twenty years of struggle, the people and the Assembly, incensed against the Proprietors, could see no other relief than an application to England to annul the charter granted by William Penn, and take from his sons the power to have any control over the government of the Province. They preferred to receive their Governor directly from the English Crown, and take their chances of royal as against proprietary encroachments. This was unquestionably the popular thing, and in 1764 the Assembly, by an almost unanimous vote, directed Franklin to press the matter to an issue.

They had a strong case against the Penns. Though as property-owners the Proprietors were entitled to no other consideration than other property-owners, yet they continually used their political authority to advance their personal interests. This was the cause of all the bickering and delay over legislation, and kept the colony embroiled in internal discord. To augment their revenue they had greatly increased the number of licensed drinking-houses, much to the detriment of public morals. Whenever a purchase was made of the Indians they would locate and survey the best lands, doing nothing to occupy them, but depending for their profits on the

increased value brought to them by surrounding settlers. This made frontier farms isolated, and exposed them to Indian attack. Under these circumstances their demands for relief of taxation on unoccupied lands were unreasonable, and manifestly sought to place upon the poor frontiersmen a double burden. Taxation upon the proprietary estates certainly never erred in the direction of excess.

But reverence for the old charter had not passed away. Norris opposed the movement, and many of the steadier Friends stood with him. Before Franklin had made much progress he received an intimation to go slowly, and very soon the Stamp Act and the growing disposition of the English government to assert its power over the colonies took away from the Pennsylvanians all desire to change masters, and the matter was allowed to drop.

In 1760 the French war was practically ended by the surrender of Montreal and the transportation of the French troops to their home, though peace was not declared till 1763. The whole of Canada and Louisiana were surrendered, and the ambitious attempt to confine England to a narrow strip along the coast, while to the north and west and south the great power

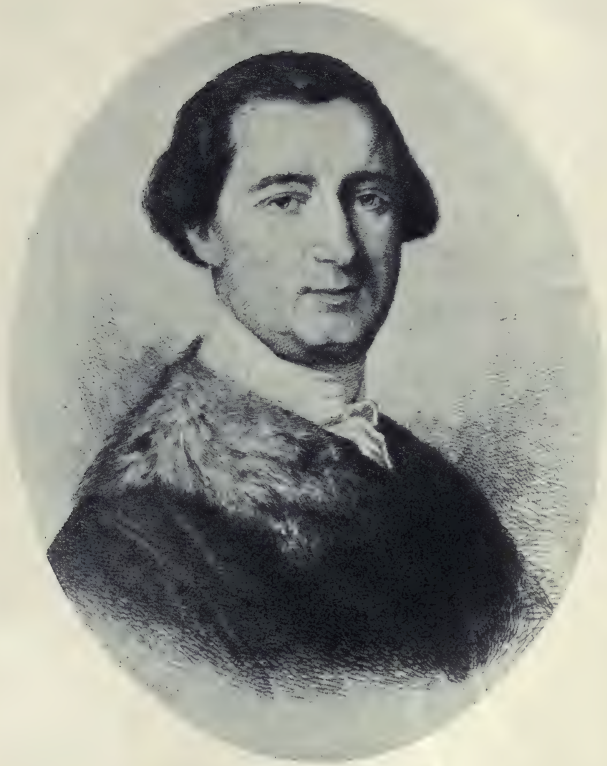
of France and her Indian allies should be supreme, was forever abandoned.

The Assembly hastily took advantage of the situation to disband all its troops, except one hundred and fifty men, while the Governor tried to pacify the discontented Indians by conferences and presents; and in 1763 a successful expedition to Fort Pitt seemed to break the power of the Indian confederacy of the west.

The colony now hoped for peace, but the Indian appetite for murder and plunder, whetted by custom and a sense of unjust treatment, was not easily controlled, and for several years the frontiers were subjected to the desolations of savage attack, causing great suffering to outlying settlers, increasing exasperation against the Quakers, who were held partly responsible for the conditions, and heavy burdens on the taxpayers for defence.

John Penn, the son of Richard Penn, and grandson of the founder, became Lieutenant-Governor in 1763. This place, or that of Governor, after he became a Proprietor on the death of his father, he retained till the Revolution, except during a two years' visit to England in 1771-73, when his brother Richard, the most popular of the family, filled the position.





JOHN PENN, GOVERNOR,

*From an Etching by Albert Rosenthal.*



## CHAPTER II.

## THE FRIENDLY ASSOCIATION.

The early Pennsylvanians had ample reward for their fair treatment of the Indians in the abundant peace and prosperity that ensued. It was not merely the fact of purchase, though William Penn probably paid the Indians liberally, that prepossessed them in his favor. In various other matters he impressed them with the idea of anxiety for their welfare and a desire to protect their interests.

He restricted the trade in skins to agents whom he thought trustworthy, and required the weighing to be done in public; he advocated mixed juries in cases where both races were concerned; he did not drive them from the lands he purchased unless settlers were ready to take possession, and he allowed the Indians to repurchase as his subjects; he did his best to keep rum from them. Some of these benevolent schemes proved impracticable and had short lives; but they proved to the Indians that Onas was their unselfish and trustworthy friend, and through generations of tradition nothing could shake

their belief in this fact. His brethren in religious profession seconded his efforts and shared the Indian confidence. The red man passed by them, even in the madness of border outrage; he sought their dwellings when in strange cities; he demanded their presence at conferences and treaties as a pledge of justice; he looked to them for the presents which, in the Indian mind, cemented friendship, and was duly grateful.

It became a recognized part of the Quaker policy of government to appropriate large sums for the maintenance of Indian good-will. Between 1733 and 1751, a period of perfect peace, we find record of over £8,000 expended for this purpose, besides the ordinary expenses of Indian affairs. And when we consider the narrowing of their hunting ground, the breaking up of all their cherished habits of life, and the havoc wrought by the vices and diseases of the whites, the grant may be defended on the grounds of justice, as well as of policy. The same practice has obtained in recent years in our national treatment of them, for it has been found cheaper, fairer, and better in every way, to feed the Indian than to fight him.

This policy was attacked on the ground that it gave the worthless, drinking savages money



which might better be appropriated to suffering settlers; that it pauperized them and destroyed their savage virility; and that when given after a war as the price of peace, it was an actual incentive soon to renew hostilities for the sake of another reward. There is some justice in this; but the history of the years prior to 1755, as compared with the score of years following, is emphatically in favor of the Quaker policy, whether we consider economy, white men's prosperity, or red men's welfare.

Up to 1751, Indian affairs were largely in the hands of James Logan, who had conducted them for almost half a century with prudence and success. He became greatly influential with the natives, and while not always quite able to restrain the Governor and Council, had a power by virtue of his character and services which no successor could wield.

The vestiges of the holy experiment disappeared when, in 1755, the Delaware Indians and their allies, the successors of those who had treated with William Penn, joined the French and attacked the border whites of Pennsylvania. As Quaker influence could no longer be exerted through the executive branch of the government, it seemed necessary to have a new organization

to deal directly with the troublesome Indian question, and in course of time "The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures," was formed.

The Walking Purchase of 1737, and the subsequent forcible removal of the Minisink Indians; the Albany treaty of 1754, when all Western Pennsylvania was sold to the Penns by the Six Nations without the consent of the dwellers on the soil; the intrigues of the French to secure the alliance of the discontented under promise of recovery of their hunting grounds, and the impositions of traders, had made the Delawares and Shawnees the open enemies of the English, and the Indian war broke out on the northern and western borders of the white settlement. The records of the times are full of the harassing details. Petitions for protection came in from dwellers all along the line, and the province was worked up to an excitement never before known. As has been so often seen in our history, the natives, goaded by wrongs, had in desperation instituted their cruel warfare, to be met by stern denunciation and a fierce cry for their extermination.

The first effort of the new association, in which



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE AT MERION, PA.

BUILT IN 1685—(OLD VIEW.)

*William Penn was for some time a regular attendee of the meetings held here.*





Israel Pemberton took the leading part, was to make a final effort to avert the declaration of war on the part of the Governor. In the minutes of the Provincial Council, under date of April 12th, 1756, we find:

Several of the strict and reputable Quakers presented an address to the Governor, bearing their testimony against war, expressing their apprehensions at this declaration, and praying that amicable methods might be further tried. Mr. Logan [William Logan, son of James Logan] moved for a full council to be called this evening, and the summons served instantly.

The address appealed to the Governor to consider the very disastrous results of war, and to make yet further efforts for peace, and added:

We hope to demonstrate by our conduct that every occasion of assisting and relieving the distressed, and contributing towards the obtaining of peace in a manner consistent with our peaceable profession, will be cheerfully improved by us, and even though a much larger part of our estates should be necessary than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require, we shall cheerfully, by voluntary presents, evidence our sincerity therein.

This offer was made in reply to the charge that the Quakers were indifferent to suffering on the frontiers, and were refusing the payment of the war tax just levied, under a false plea of conscience.

The attempt to influence the Council was not successful, as indeed, since nothing new was

presented, it was hardly expected to be, "and after full consideration and debate all the Council [except Mr. Logan, who desired his dissent might be entered on the minutes] agreed that the Governor ought not to delay declaring war against the enemy Indians. The bounties for prisoners and scalps were then considered and agreed to."\*

The efforts to avert war being unavailing, the association made its next attempt to detach some of the northern Delawares under Tedyuscung from the French alliance, and to conclude a separate peace with them. Several thousand pounds were raised, mostly by Friends, but partly also by Schwenkfelders and other sympathetic German bodies, to purchase presents to be distributed on the conclusion of peace.

The first step taken was to send a delegation of friendly Indians to express a desire for a conference. "From the time of the first messengers arriving at Teaogan (Tioga)," Israel Pemberton says, "hostilities on our northern frontier ceased, and an acceptable respite being obtained for our distressed fellow-subjects, we enjoyed so much real pleasure and satisfaction in the happy

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\* Colonial Records, vol. viii, p. 84.

event of our endeavors as to engage us cheerfully to pursue the business we had begun, though many malicious calumnies and aspersions were cast upon us by persons by whom we had a right to expect encouragement."

Then followed a series of conferences, in which was much scheming at cross purposes. The Governor and Secretary Peters were most insistent to prevent any blame being attached to the Proprietors in connection with fraudulent purchases of lands. But Tedyuscung would not be refused, and whether drunk or sober adhered to his story of wrong, and demanded reparation. The Friendly Association, acting merely by sufferance, with nothing to gain for themselves, endeavored to be mediators, so as to secure justice to the Indians, and also to act as loyal subjects of the Government. Unquestionably the success of Tedyuscung, who trusted them implicitly as the "Sons of Onas," was due to their advice and suggestions, though he himself proved to be no mean diplomat. The Five Nations constituted another factor. The desire of the Governor was to use their influence to choke off the Delaware claims, while the Association sought to gain their help in encouraging peace propositions.

The first of these conferences was at Easton, in 1756. The Indians appeared to desire peace, but Tedyuscung was not secure in his authority, and needed time to bring other tribes into the arrangements. He was dined, and left in a friendly humor. The presents of the Friendly Association were, by direction of the Governor, (who at one time refused permission to the Friends to deliver any present to the Indians), finally given, with those provided by the government.

Later in the same year a meeting of the Friends was held at the house of Israel Pemberton, and they adopted the following address to Governor Denny, who had just come into office:

The address of a considerable number of the people called Quakers, in the city of Philadelphia, for themselves and their brethren in other parts of the said Province, sheweth that the calamities and desolation of our fellow-subjects on the frontiers of the Province having been the painful subject of our frequent consideration, with desires to be instrumental towards their relief by every means in our power consistent with the peaceable principles we profess, some of us had, by the permission of Governor Morris, some conferences last spring with some Indian chiefs of the Six Nations, from whence we are confirmed in our apprehensions that there was a prospect of some good effect by further endeavors to promote pacific measures with the Delaware Indians, on the northern frontiers of this Province.

That immediately after the conference Governor Morris sent a message to the Indians, in which he particularly mentioned our earnest desires to interpose with the Gov-



ernment to receive their submission, and establish a firm and lasting peace with them.

That from the accounts given us by the Indians who delivered this message, we were informed that the Delawares reposed great confidence in the continuance of our endeavors to that purpose, and after the receipt of a second message, some of them were induced to meet Governor Morris at Easton, and there laid the foundation of a more general treaty. That a considerable number of us attended the said treaty at Easton, and, from the conduct and express declarations of the Indians were assured that our personal attendance was very acceptable to them and conducive to the general service.

That in confirmation of the sincerity of our desires to promote the restoration of peace, we had provided a present of such clothing for these Indians as they appeared to be immediately in want of, which Governor Morris was pleased to deliver them in our behalf.

That as we are now informed, a much larger number of Indians are waiting to meet the governor at Easton. Being still desirous of promoting the restoration and establishment of peace with them, we are ready and willing, by personally attending the treaty, to manifest the continuance of our care and concern herein, and our hearty disposition to regain and improve the friendship of the Indians to the general interest of our country; and if our furnishing a supply of clothing for them against the approaching winter, in addition to what is provided at the public expense, may in any measure tend to these purposes and be consistent with the Governor's pleasure, we shall cheerfully provide and send them to the place appointed for the treaty, to be delivered them by the Governor in such manner as will most effectually promote the public service, and express our friendly disposition towards them. All of which is with much respect submitted to the consideration of the Governor.

The treaty which followed was not conclusive, but tended to draw whites and Indians together.

The king complained of the forged deeds of 1686, and of the Walking Purchase which had robbed his people of the ground where they now stood, and Secretary Peters admitted in private that the "Walk" could not be vindicated. "The Proprietors always despised it," he said, "and it was unworthy of any government." He was, however, unwilling to open the question, and the meeting terminated with nothing definite established. The Commissioners appointed by the Assembly, however, sympathized with the Indians and with the Friendly Association, and the aggressive secretary to the Governor was induced to yield his contention that there were no real grievances, only French intrigue. Presents were exchanged, and Tedyuscung, following the Friends to the ferry, told them "he had endeavored to turn in his mind and look up to God for direction; that when he was alone in the woods and destitute of every other counsellor, he found by doing so he had the best direction; that he hoped God would bless our endeavors, and wanted Friends to remember him. He followed us to the boat, and was so much affected he could only by tears manifest his respect." It would not have been difficult to preserve peace with

such a man, if any respectable treatment had been accorded him.

Another conference followed in Lancaster, in 1757, thus described in a letter from James Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill:

In the Fifth month last a treaty was held at Lancaster with a number of the Five Nations Indians, who had come down in consequence of an invitation from the Government to attend the proposed treaty with the Delawares, which was expected could have been held early in the spring, but that the old king (Tedyuscung), had not been able to accomplish his business of collecting the several tribes who were interested in the matter. The views of our politicians were greatly frustrated in the issue of that treaty, as they fully expected the Five Nations would have undertaken to have confirmed the land purchases and challenged the Delawares for their complaints, but on the contrary they avoided this and acted with as much policy and more candor than ourselves (our politicians). These poor people, after being long detained, much to their loss, many of the principal men, and some of those we could place the most confidence in, being taken off with the small-pox, yet went home pretty well satisfied, and great numbers of Friends attended this treaty from various parts of the country.

A more important conference was held later in the same year at Easton, where Tedyuscung had collected representatives of a large number of tribes who owned his sway. The Governor at first refused to allow the Friends to participate, alleging that they were trying to persuade the Indians to attach themselves to their own

particular interest, and that subjects had no right to treat with foreign powers. In reply to this they sent him a long address, rehearsing how they had endeavored to have the Indian grievances inquired into instead of raising soldiers and building forts against them, which had only aggravated the conditions, and that they still believed a peaceful policy the best in treating with them, and finally that Tedyuscung refused to go into the treaty unless the Quakers were to be there. They reminded the Governor that the first settlers were men of standing and property, who bought the land of the Proprietor with the understanding that he should clear up all titles, Indian and other; which agreement the first Proprietor had kept. They therefore had some right to know that the bargain was still intact, and that the present Indian claims on the land were satisfied.

The Governor still persisted in his refusal to permit them to give goods to the Indians, or to attend the treaty as a body. They went, however, and had an important influence on the result, with their £500 of presents.

Tedyuscung made the unexpected demand for a private clerk to take note of the proceedings; as he evidently distrusted—not without



cause, as was afterwards proven—the notes of the Governor's agents. This demand was opposed by the Governor, who spent four days in protesting, intimating that the Quakers were at the bottom of this request, which, indeed, was not unlikely. When the Indian firmly announced that he would break up the conference if the demand was not complied with, the Governor yielded, and Charles Thomson, a young man, then master of the Friends' public school of Philadelphia, afterwards the secretary of the Continental Congress, was made clerk to the old king. The Quaker schoolmaster performed an important part in the treaty, and afterwards wrote up the whole history of the "Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians" in a little book, which is still our highest authority on the subject.

The flow of debate and oratory was kept up uninterruptedly for nearly three weeks, and a treaty of peace resulted. Tedyuscung apparently having carried his point that the old deeds should be examined and his tribe recompensed for injuries done them. He was, however, deceived by the Governor, who did not produce the deeds the Indians most desired to have referred to the arbitrament of the Crown,

but others of minor consequence. The Friends failed to call Tedyuscung's attention to this error, fearful of its effects upon him, and hoping to prevail on the Governor to forward the proper ones.

The transaction was hardly calculated to secure a lasting peace.

James Pemberton, in a letter to Samuel Fothergill, under date of Fifth month 25th, 1758, gives an idea of the Indian condition after this treaty:

I herewith send thee a copy of the conferences which have been held with Tedyuscung this spring, by which it appears there hath been a favorable prospect of an agreeable issue to the prosecution of pacific measures, and if our government were but as hearty in endeavors as the old king appears to be, and as some of their speeches to the Indians would insinuate, we might, through the continued blessing of Providence, obtain a more extensive alliance and friendship with the natives than ever before. Our frontiers remained unmolested all winter. . . . The Indians are acting on as politic views, as our most sagacious statesmen can be; they find it their interest to be at peace with us in regard to trade, and seem to have a natural dislike to the French, but are determined to have justice done them by the English on account of their land. . . . They (the Governor and Council) want the Indians to retract the complaint of fraud against the Proprietor or his agent, which they look upon as dishonorable, and I believe are now conscious of the truth of it.

The next step of the Friendly Association was to attempt to promote peace with the West-

ern Indians, and finding the Assembly were short of funds to send commissioners offered to loan the money. The proposition was accepted with the thanks of the House "for their friendly and generous offer." Though the House was composed of a minority of Friends only, it was always in close accord with the Association in Indian matters.

Still another treaty was held at Easton, late in 1758. Tedyuscung had enlarged his following, having with him about five hundred Indians. The apparent object of the meeting was to bring against him accusations of unfaithfulness by his old enemies, the Five Nations, from whom he had freed himself, and to induce him to withdraw his charges against the Proprietors. The attempt was a failure. "Ted," as James Pemberton calls him, maintained his stand, and the conference ended rather ingloriously by getting the Indians drunk, and extracting from them signatures to deeds conveying lands far in excess of their knowledge, and only partially paid for. A member of the Friendly Association writes: "The time was spent in attempting Tedyuscung's downfall, and silencing or contradicting the complaints he had made; but he is really more of a politician than any of his oppo-

nents, whether in or out of our Proprietary Council, and if he could only be kept sober might probably soon become Emperor of all the neighboring nations."

To a certain extent these treaties were a part of the political game of the times. The Governor and Council, agents for the Proprietors, were engaged in an attempt to shield the reputation of their employers, and in this were seconded by part of the Five Nations. Undeterred by the obloquy of the Walking Purchase and the Albany Treaty of 1754, they were adding to their discredit and increasing their wealth by new offences. On the other hand the Commissioners of the Assembly unquestionably were not disposed to lighten the opprobrium, and were delighted in the skill and firmness of the old Delaware king. The Friendly Association, composed of men who had voluntarily sacrificed political power, though undoubtedly sympathizing with the Assembly, were seeking to undo the evils let loose by the bad faith of the Proprietors, and to restore harmony on all sides.

The Governor, in the name of the Council, sent a report, in 1758, to the Proprietor, which contained this paragraph:

We can not but impute the said Tedyuscung's making the base charge of forgery against the Proprietaries to the



malicious suggestions and management of some wicked people, enemies to the Proprietaries, and perhaps it would not be unjust in us if we were to impute it to some of those busy, forward people, who, in disregard of the express injunctions of His Majesty's ministers, and your Honors repeated notices served on them, would nevertheless appear in such crowds at the late Indian treaties, and there show themselves so busy and active, in the management and support of the Indians in those complaints against the Proprietaries.

The English Friends secured information of this report, and advised their Philadelphia brethren; and upon this the Meeting for Sufferings addressed the Governor, denying any desire to damage the Proprietors, and urging a wish, previously preferred, to examine the minutes of the Council to obtain material to clear themselves. This the Governor refused.

The paper they especially desired to see was a report investigating the complaints of Tedyuscung, afterwards printed in the Records of the Council.\* It is a long report, going over the various causes of dissatisfaction, and defends the "Walk" and other matters of controversy, containing also the paragraph above quoted. Benjamin Shoemaker and William Logan, of the Council, declared the report had been sent without their knowledge, and that the first information they had of it came by way of London. It

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\* Colonial Records, vol. viii, p. 246.

was now for the first time ordered to be placed on the minutes.

In 1759 the Friendly Association, through Israel Pemberton, sent to Pittsburg two thousand pounds' worth of goods to be equitably sold or given to the Indians. Later in the year the British Government desired it to forward to the same place at its expense another consignment for a similar purpose.

The minutes of the later years of the Association are lost. Its life was probably extended till 1764, or, as some say, to 1767. Its representatives attended two conferences in 1762:—one at Easton with Tedyuscung, in which he was induced to withdraw his charge of forgery against the Proprietors, but still insisted that the "Walk" was not properly performed, and received a satisfactory compensation for his mulcted lands; the other at Lancaster, where a general peace with the Northern and Western Indians was concluded. It could not, however, prevent the great conspiracy of Pontiac, which, in 1763, renewed the war all along the colonial frontier, and exasperated the borderers against all Indians everywhere. When, at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, the final treaty was made which quieted the Indian question for the Colonial

period, the Association was no longer in existence.

One cannot well attribute other than humane and well-meant intentions to this Association. Its undertakings cost too much in time and money, and there was too little to be gained personally by its promoters, to allow us to suppose that selfish considerations entered into their motives. That their presents were often of doubtful advantage to the Indian may be admitted. Indeed, the best thing for the Indian would have been to place an impassable barrier between himself and the whites. But this could not be done, and, like the weak barbarian he was, he desired the good things of the white, and would not be satisfied without them.

It was something more than the forms of justice that he so tenaciously appreciated in the Quakers,—it was their effort to conform to his own ideas of justice. It may have been true that in the Albany purchase of 1754 the Proprietors' plan of buying of the sovereign without regard to the rights of the subject dwellers on the land was in accord with the recognized principles of law. It was not in accord with Indian ideas of fairness; and even in legal strictness the suzerainty was rather too faintly recognized to jus-

tify the sale of vast tracts, covering the entire property of whole tribes. It was, at any rate in Indian eyes, gross injustice, to be resisted by all means. William Penn would never have forced this purchase upon them. Had it been necessary to have their land he would have satisfied them as well as their feudal lords. The Friendly Association meant to follow the methods of the founder, and the Indians knew it.

The gain to the Province by a consistent course of fair dealing would have been immense. The friendship of the Indian would have been an effective buffer against French attack. The whites might have reposed in safety behind their red defenders. The troubles of finance and taxation, which created the hard feeling of the people against the Proprietors, would never have arisen, and the reign of peace and security might have had another twenty years of existence. The Quaker experiment of peace succeeded while Quaker justice to the Indian prevailed. When the Proprietors departed from this, peace departed and Quaker rule terminated.

But, even granting all this, it may be plausibly maintained that in the end the Quaker policy would have defeated itself. The tremendous immigration induced by the free principles of



government, and the security from savage attack, filled up the country at a rapid rate. Lands were cleared and hunting grounds vanished. What were the Indians to do? Labor was irksome, civilization they did not want, and their country was emptied of game. A greater problem than even William Penn solved was the inheritance of his sons, and even had they attacked it in the spirit of their father they might have failed. But we have learned something of the Indians since that day; and while we know they are unspeakably cruel in war, we have also ascertained that they are trustworthy to friends, faithful to treaties, and reasonable in meeting half-way any advances made in good-will. Hence we may believe that there would have been found some feasible right way to settle the Indian question in Pennsylvania in the last century without fraud or war.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE PAXTON RIOT.

Before leaving the Indian subject we must relate one other episode which greatly disturbed the serenity of Pennsylvania Quakerism.

Governor John Penn came into office in October, 1763. On the 19th of December he laid before his Council an address of welcome he had received from the Conestoga Indians. This once powerful tribe, which had treated with William Penn on his first arrival and secured from him permission to reside on his manor in Lancaster County, had now dwindled down to twenty poor Indians, who lived by making brooms and baskets and peddling them among their neighbors. Their address congratulated the new Governor, complained of encroachment upon their reservation, and asked for the customary provisions and clothing as a recompense for the loss of their hunting grounds.

At the same meeting of the Council was read a letter stating that on the 14th inst. six of these Indians—three men, two women and a boy—had been murdered in their homes, their bodies

mutilated and burned, with their houses, by a party of fifty or sixty white rangers.

The other fourteen were out selling brooms. They were quickly apprised of the danger that awaited them, and were hurried for protection to the Lancaster jail. A few days later the same band of whites galloped into the town in broad daylight, without any attempt at concealment, broke into the jail, butchered all the Indians, and rapidly and quietly rode away. These fourteen consisted of three men with their wives and eight children. The tribe was exterminated.

The outlaws who committed this act were a body of settlers from the north of Ireland, who were fiercely exasperated against all Indians. They lived at Paxton and Donegal, south of Harrisburg, and with their friends became afterwards known as "Paxton Boys." They were actuated partly by religious motives, quoting the command to the Israelites to destroy utterly the heathens of Palestine, but mainly they were madly desirous to avenge the sufferings of their friends at the hands of Indian invaders. Their pastor, John Elder, though he preached a militant Christianity in the pulpit, with his loaded rifle by his side, endeavored to restrain them when he found who were to be the objects of

their wrath. Either they did not respect him, or did not believe in his sincerity, for they moved him aside with a gun at his breast and went on.

There seems to have been little excuse for this outrage, except the general one so often urged since, that the only good Indian is a dead Indian. It was suspected that these Indians had given information to their brethren on the war path. One of them had been accused of killing a man. But these charges were not proven; and the German neighbors usually considered them as harmless if improvident mendicants.

The province was thoroughly aroused. A lynching was a new thing in Pennsylvania, and excited vastly more indignation than it would at the present time. Franklin wrote a vigorous and denunciatory pamphlet. Governor Penn issued two proclamations calling on the local authorities to enforce the law and offering rewards. Philadelphia and the eastern counties in general were shocked and felt that the province was disgraced.

This was not, however, the feeling where the deed was committed. The Paxton Boys gloried in their acts, and made no secret of them. Nothing could be done, for along the frontier



there was full sympathy with them, and no officials would have dared to touch them.

Emboldened by this sympathy they decided to extend their operations. A company of Indians had embraced Christianity through the efforts of the Moravians at Bethlehem, but as their loyalty to the English was somewhat uncertain, and their safety in any exposed position decidedly precarious, it was concluded to move them—one hundred and forty in number—to Philadelphia. Fearful, however, that they still might fall a victim to the enmity of their white persecutors, they were further transported to New York. There the Governor refused to receive them, and under the control of two companies of soldiers they were returned to Philadelphia and placed in barracks in what was then the northern part of the city, near the corner of Third and Green Streets.

The Paxton Boys, reënforced by stronger and steadier men who were deputed by border meetings to carry their grievances to Philadelphia, concluded to treat these Moravian Indians as they had those at Lancaster. If the Quakers defended them they were also to be murdered. It was to be a war of sects, with the Presbyterian and the Quaker in hostile array.

The motley crowd of perhaps five hundred men at the start, enlarged by popular report to ten times the number, soon passed over the ground from Lancaster to Philadelphia, and finding the ferries near the latter city over the Schuylkill guarded, and a heavy rain swelling the stream, crossed at what is now Norristown, and marched down to Germantown, where they encamped. They had apparently expected aid from their co-religionists in the city, but the affair partook too much of the nature of a riot and rebellion to command much sympathy among property-owners.

Great was the excitement in the Quaker City. The Governor called for defenders for the Indians, and the response was liberal. In the cold February weather the improvised citizen soldiery drilled through the day, fortified the Indian barracks, and slept at night subject to sudden call. On the 4th undoubted information of the approach of the rioters was received. It was a rainy and stormy day, but the inhabitants camped at the barracks. On the 5th, at midnight, an alarm was sounded. As previously arranged, candles appeared in every window, but the expected enemy proved to be only a body of Germans coming to the aid of the defenders.

On the 6th the citizens were still under arms, but the Governor sent a committee, including Franklin, whose conduct during the whole proceeding met with the highest approval of the Friends, to arrange terms of peace. There proved to be only about two hundred of the invaders, and they evidently had no chance against a whole city in arms, so they willingly presented their grievances and agreed to go home. Thirty of them took advantage of their proximity to see the town, and rode in. Immediately the alarm was sounded, and the valiant defenders again sprang to arms. The matter ended as a farce, without the loss of a drop of blood.

The demands of the rioters on the Government were that the Moravian Indians should be banished, and no others allowed to live among the whites; that no attempt should be made to have the Paxton boys tried in Philadelphia; that the border counties should have a larger representation in the Assembly; that the Province, instead of voting money to propitiate hostile Indians, should take care of wounded and suffering white men; and lastly, that the bounties for Indian scalps, which had been withdrawn, should be restored. Some of these demands were not unreasonable, but it is a melancholy record to

have to make that the last was the only one acceded to; that the grandson of William Penn offered rewards for scalps of male and female Indians.

Not only the Indians, but also certain prominent Friends, notably Israel Pemberton, were to fall victims to the invaders; at least James Pemberton was called out of meeting on the 5th and so informed, and such was the general belief. It is hardly to be wondered at that many of the younger Friends, and some of the older, should have armed themselves, with other citizens, to defend their wards in the barracks and their venerable elders in their homes. In the hot pamphlet war which followed much was made of the insincerity of the Quakers in their testimony against war, and it was felt by the meetings that a serious inroad had been made into the disciplinary bulwarks of their faith.

James Pemberton writes, Third month 7th, 1764:

Although the minds of many Friends were, I believe, preserved in a state of calmness, and our Quarterly Meeting was held to satisfaction, yet it was a matter of sorrowful observation to behold many under our name (it is supposed about two hundred) acting so contrary to the ancient and well-grounded principle of our profession, the testimony whereof suffered greatly on this occasion, and furnished our



adversaries with a subject of rejoicing who will make no allowance in our favor for the instability of youth, they who take up arms being mostly such who could scarcely be expected to stand firm to the testimony upon a time of so sudden and uncommon a trial, or such who do not make much profession. It must be acknowledged there is weakness subsisting on many accounts amongst us. I wish this probation may have a tendency to unite and increase the strength of those who are engaged for the honor of truth, that they may become instruments afresh qualified for the help of the weak by example and precept. One circumstance I must not omit, in regard to the use of the meeting house which may be liable to be misrepresented: On the second day of the inhabitants' mustering a heavy rain came on about ten o'clock, to which being exposed, some of them, not of our Society, requested liberty to take shelter in the meeting [house], which on consultation with some Friends was allowed, and it would have appeared an act of unkindness to refuse it, as it faces the court house and market place, which were likewise filled by other companies, and it had before been agreed, for avoiding the noise, to hold the youth's meeting of that day at one of the other houses.

There was unquestionably a considerable sentiment, led by James Logan in the previous generation, and cropping out in the association of Free Quakers in the next, which made a distinction between defensive and offensive war, and, loyal in other respects to Quaker thought and policy, justified war in protection of worthy causes. There was without doubt a number of those who took up arms against the Paxton rioters who were simply youths, carried away by the excitement of the time and the natural sense of

indignation against murderers and rebels, who gave but little thought to the ethical questions involved. Many of these afterwards reconsidered their position. The Edward Penington who led the Quaker company in 1764 was a different man from the Edward Penington who was banished to Virginia in 1777. But, as the following events showed, there were probably not a few who justified their action through all the disciplinary proceedings which the meeting now entered upon.

The monthly meeting of Third month 30th adopted the following minute:

The meeting taking under consideration the conduct of some members of our religious Society in the time of the late commotion in the city, and being desirous of administering suitable advice for the conviction of those who deviated from our ancient testimony in taking up arms on that occasion, of the inconsistency of their conduct in that respect, in consequence of the request of the Overseers for assistance in a Christian labor with such, appoints . . . [eleven names] . . . to confer with the Overseers, and proceed in the service of visiting the youth or others on that account, in such manner as on consideration they may judge most likely to answer the intent of such brotherly endeavors.

Three months later the Committee reported that "upon the whole they have met with a favorable reception from most of those who have deviated from our religious testimony, . . .

though some appear rather in a disposition to vindicate their conduct." The Committee was continued.

The next month they are rather more explicit, but are again continued.

We have in the strength and wisdom afforded us generally gone through that service, and endeavored to convince them of the inconsistency of their conduct with our religious profession, most of whom acknowledge they have acted contrary thereto, and some appear in a good measure convinced of their error in that case; and a few acknowledge they felt convictions for their so acting at that time, and some vindicate their conduct therein.

And a religious exercise hath attended many of our minds in the course of the service, on considering the manifest breach they have made and the necessity there is of maintaining our peaceable testimony against all wars and fightings, together with the different circumstances of those whom we have visited, many of whom were in their minority and appeared much unacquainted with the grounds of Friends' testimony herein.

Laid over for consideration.

The next month the meeting concludes:

After some time spent in consideration of the report of the Committee respecting their visit to such who, by bearing of arms in Second month last, deviated from our ancient testimony, and the sentiment of Friends expressed thereon, and great tenderness and compassion appearing towards them under their different circumstances, it is recommended to the said Committee to repeat their visit to the several delinquents, and to administer such further admonition as may occur to them to be necessary; and where they find any plead the rectitude of their sentiments and persist to vindicate their conduct in opposition to our

Christian testimony, and labor is rejected or not likely to avail to convince them of their error, to produce their names to the meeting, in order that such further measures may be taken as the honor of the testimony of Truth requires, and to inform them in general of the concern with which the Meeting is affected on their account, and the earnest desire for their restoration, and that they may experience future stability and watchfulness wherein the preservation of us all depends, and the said Committee, on performing this service, are desired to make report of their proceedings.

The results of the Committee's labors began to manifest themselves in individual acknowledgments of error and consequent restoration to favor.\* The names, however, were not reported by the Committee.

Again, in Second month, 1765, the Committee report, classifying the offenders. Thirty-two of them were under age, have been carefully in-

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\*— — attended this Meeting with a paper expressing sorrow for his taking up arms in Second month last, and that it proceeded from the hurry and commotion which then attended and prevented sufficient time for reflection or opportunity of consulting with Friends on the occasion, and that the call of the magistracy for the suppression of a riot, which threatened murder to innocent persons and general disturbance to the city, prevailed with him at that time to join in a military appearance, but on serious deliberation he finds his conduct was wrong, and that all wars and fightings are antichristian, which being read, and favorable accounts being given by the Friends who have visited him of his disposition of mind, there is ground to hope what he offers proceeds from a motive of sincerity.



structed, and their case may now be considered closed. Of the others a number acknowledge their mistake; a second company are "jealous of the Quaker profession, but do not yet see their inconsistency"; while a third "wholly justify defensive war, in opposition to our religious Society."

In Fourth month the meeting advised them to drop the cases of those who seem repentant, and again directs the names brought forward of those "who contend against our peaceable testimony." This is not done, however, and the "labour" goes on from month to month, and other Friends from Philadelphia and elsewhere are added to the Committee.

In Fourth month, 1766, the meeting again suggests bringing in the names of the refractory, but it is not done. So the matter goes on, each month bringing a new report, till Fifth month, 1767, when the Committee finally reports that some are still unconvinced, yet they express a willingness and hope to be more guarded and circumspect in the future, so it is concluded not to send in any names. The meeting hopes that Friends will still labor "at every seasonable opportunity," and finally discharges the Committee. No one is "disowned," but the three

and one-quarter years of quiet and loving personal intercourse between the participants and a large and influential Committee doubtless had its great effect in strengthening the position of the meeting, though there are frequent evidences that there was then considerable discord among Friends.

Samuel Wetherill, writing shortly after, says that during the disturbance "Not an individual in the Society appeared to discountenance the thing," and adds:

There were divers conferences held on the subject, in which the members of the Society were divided in opinion; some thought they should proceed as the discipline directs, which requires an acknowledgement for such conduct, or that the Society should bear a testimony against the violators of the rule. But there were other persons, men of virtue or superior understanding, who could not proceed to condemn men for doing that which at the time of trial was generally approbated. These Friends prevailed over the others, and the business ended; had the sentiments of the other Friends prevailed the Society would have merited the highest reproach.

This was written after the author had taken, during the Revolutionary War, decided grounds in favor of the armed support of the American cause.

The whole question is important, because it had considerable influence in formulating views

for and against the propriety of Friends joining the independence forces a dozen years later.

If ever war could be advocated, or even palliated, here was a case. Defenceless Indians and worthy citizens were to be slaughtered by a body of border rangers who had shown their temper at Conestoga and Lancaster. The laws of the land were defied, and the constituted authorities called for aid. It might be considered simply as doing police duty to stand between the rioters and their victims; and after all, no one was hurt, and only a show of force was necessary.

Yet to the Quaker mind of the time it meant war, and not police duty. The distinction between the two was pretty well threshed out in the controversy between the Assembly and Governor Thomas, in 1740-42. Had a continued resistance been made, there would have been drilling and fighting, murder and devastation, hatred and vindictive feeling; and these men, who had so enthusiastically rushed to arms, would have been soldiers and not policemen.

There is usually—at least on one side, and often on both—an excellent excuse; and if the Quakers had any special testimony against war in itself it was necessary to maintain it even when the right was manifestly with them, as in

this case. To them war was not wrong because it was inexpedient or the occasion insufficient, but because it involved the killing of innocent as well as guilty; stealing from non-combatants as well as the enemy; lying and deception, and the reverse of all the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Because the Quaker believed in the Christianity of Christ, and was willing to follow it even against the dictates of seeming necessity, he must condemn war and the warlike spirit even when every consideration of right was on his side. And so while these grave Committeemen may have felt much secret sympathy with their sons and younger members, for whom they opened the meeting-house in the February rain-storm, they saw also pretty clearly that the vitality of their testimony to peace depended on their winning back their erring youth, and setting themselves right before a very critical body of fellow-citizens.

The Yearly Meeting took up the question in the autumn of 1764. Evidently it was an exciting subject, and all the solemnity of such a meeting was necessary to a grave and quiet consideration of its various phases. We have no record of the discussion, but the minutes simply



call for a general support of the Monthly Meeting in dealing with the offenders.

After a solid and weighty deliberation on the affecting occasion mentioned in the report from Philadelphia Quarter in respect to the deviation from our ancient peaceable testimony manifested by the conduct of several members of our religious Society in the time of the hurry and commotion which happened in that city in the Second month last, and a fervent concern at this time prevailing for the support of our Christian testimony in all its branches and for the restoration of those who have erred therefrom; in order for a more full and close consideration of what is incumbent on this Meeting to do on this occasion, it is recommended to Friends to labor to continue under the calming influence with which this sitting has been attended, that in the further deliberation on this subject the Meeting may be able to come to such result thereon as the honor of Truth at this time requires.

In a long letter to their London brethren, written within three weeks of the excitement, the Meeting for Sufferings details the Indian massacres and the events in Germantown and Philadelphia, and concludes:

During these tumults a few members of our Society were hurried, under the apprehension of immediate danger, to appear in arms, contrary to our religious profession and principles, whose example was followed by some of our youth, which hath been and is a subject of real concern to those who experienced in this time of trial the calming influence of that spirit which preserves in a steady dependence on the alone protection of Divine Providence, and we hope endeavours will be extended by those in the meekness of true wisdom, for the help and restoration of those who have thus erred.

When we consider the ferments which were then excited and prevailed, and the members suddenly brought together from different places in this state of mind, we have abundant cause with deep and reverent thankfulness to acknowledge and remember the merciful interposition of Divine Favour extended towards us, that thro' these commotions no lives were lost, nor personal injury done to any that we have heard of, and that the mischiefs which seemed for some time inevitable are for the present at least averted.

This day of probation happened on the day appointed for holding the *Quarterly Meeting* of this city and county, which nevertheless was attended by a large number of Friends, and we believe was a time of confirmation and comfort to many.

With desires that we may be preserved through these difficulties in faith and patience to the honor of our Holy Profession, and in much brotherly love, we salute you, and remain,

Your loving Fr'ds & Brethren.

The general sentiment was probably expressed in the following extract from a private letter of an English Friend of the time:

It was very affecting to find that so many under our name departed in such a sorrowful manner from our Christian principles as to take up arms. To be sure it was a very singular and extraordinary case, it being to oppose the progress of horrid murderers; the view of this, together with the suddenness of their being surprised and many of them exampled into it, ought to be considered; yet it is of very great importance to the whole Society that our truly Christian testimony to the government of the Prince of Peace, and against all wars and fightings, should be maintained inviolate, and I greatly hope and much desire Friends on your side may be favored with true judgement and real discerning to act properly in so deplorable a case.

The papers presented by the frontiersmen containing reflections on the Quakers, and the whole matter being a subject of public controversy, it seemed desirable to the Meeting for Sufferings to offer a public defense of their conduct in relation to the Indians. This they did in the shape of a letter to Governor Penn, dated Second month 25th, 1764.

To John Penn, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc. :

The Addresses of the people called Quakers in the said Province:

May it please the Governor :—

We acknowledge thy kind reception of our application for copies of the two papers presented to thee by some of the frontier inhabitants on the sixth and thirteenth instant, which we have perused and considered, and find several parts thereof are evidently intended to render us odious to our superiors and to keep up a tumultuous spirit among the inconsiderate part of the people. We therefore request thy favorable attention to some observations which we apprehend necessary to offer, to assert our innocence of the false charges and unjust insinuations thus invidiously propagated against us.

Our religious Society hath been well known through the British dominions above an hundred years, and was never concerned in promoting or countenancing any plots or insurrections against the Government, but, on the contrary when ambitious men, thirsting for power, have embroiled the state in intestine commotions and bloodshed, subverting the order of Government, our forefathers, by their publick declarations and peaceable conduct manifested their abhorrence of such traitorous proceedings. Notwithstand-

ing they were subjected to gross abuses in their characters and persons, and cruel imprisonments, persecutions and some of them the loss of their lives, through the instigation of wicked and unreasonable men, they steadily maintained their profession and acted agreeable to the principles of the true Disciples of Christ. By their innocent, peaceable conduct having approved themselves faithful and loyal subjects, they obtained the favour of the Government and were by royal authority entrusted with many valuable rights and privileges to be enjoyed by them and their successors with the property they purchased in the soil of this Province, which induced them to remove from their native land with some of their neighbors of other religious societies, and at their own expense, without any charge to the public, to encounter the difficulties of improving a wilderness in which the blessings of Divine Providence attended their endeavours beyond all human expectation. From the first settling of the Province till within a few years past both the framing and the administration of the laws were committed chiefly to men of our religious principles, under whom tranquility and peace were preserved among the inhabitants and with the natives, the land rejoiced, and the people of every denomination were protected in person and property and in the full enjoyment of religious and civil liberty; but with grief and sorrow of some years past we have observed the circumstances of the Province to be much changed, and that intestine animosities and the desolating calamities of man have taken the place of tranquility and peace.

We have as a religious Society ever carefully avoided admitting matters immediately relating to civil government into our deliberations further than to excite and engage each other to demean ourselves as dutiful subjects to the King, with due respect to those in authority under him, and to live agreeably to the religious principles we profess and to the uniform example of our ancestors, and to this end Meetings were instituted and are still maintained in which our care and concern are manifested to preserve



that discipline and good order among us which tend only to the promotion of piety and virtue.

Yet, as members of civil society, services sometimes occur which we do not judge expedient to become the subject of the consideration of our religious meetings, and of this nature is the association formed by a number of persons in religious profession with us, of which on this occasion it seems incumbent on us to give some account to the Governor, as their conduct is misrepresented in order to calumniate and reproach us as a religious Society, by the insinuations and slanders in the papers sent to the Governor, and particularly in the unsigned declaration on behalf of a number of armed men on the sixth instant, when approaching the city from distant parts of the Province to the disturbance of the public peace.

In the spring of the year 1756, the distress of the Province being very great and the desolating calamities of a general Indian war apprehended, at the instance of the Provincial Interpreter, Conrad Weiser, and with the approbation of Governor Morris, some members of our Society essayed to promote a reconciliation with the Indians. Their endeavors being blessed with success, the happy effects thereof were soon manifest and a real concern for the then deplorable situation of our fellow-subjects on the frontiers prevailing, in order that they might be capable of rendering some effectual service they freely contributed considerable sums of money and engaged others in like manner to contribute, so that about 5,000 pounds was raised in order to be employed for the service of the public. The chief part thereof hath been since expended in presents given at the public treaties (when they were sometimes delivered by the Governors of this Province, and at other times with their privity and permission) for promoting the salutary measures of gaining and confirming peace with the Indians and procuring the release of our countrymen in captivity, and thereby a considerable number have been restored to their friends. We find that the measures thus pursued being made known to the King's Generals, who from time to time were here, and having

been communicated by an address sent to the Proprietaries of this Province in England, appear, by their written answers and other testimonials, to have received their countenance and approbation. This being the case and the conduct of those concerned in these affairs evidently contrary to the intent and tendency of the assertion contained in the said unsigned declaration, pretended to be founded on the records of the county of Berks, we do not apprehend it necessary to say any more thereon than that we are (after proper enquiry) assured that nothing of that kind is to be found on those records, and that the private minute made by Conrad Weiser of a report he had received from two Indians of a story they had heard from another Indian pretending to be a messenger from the Ohio, does not mention any person whatever nor contain the charges expressed in the declaration. From the enquiry we have made we find them groundless and unjust and uttered with a view to amuse and inflame the credulous to vilify and calumniate us.

The insidious reflection against a sect, "that have got the political reins in their hands and tamely tyrannize over the good people of this Province," though evidently levelled against us, manifests the authors of these papers are egregiously ignorant of our conduct or wilfully bent on misrepresenting us, it being known that as a religious body we have by public advices and private admonition labored with and earnestly desired our brethren who have been elected or appointed to public offices in the Government for some years past to decline taking upon them a task so arduous under our late and present circumstances. That many have concurred with us in this resolution is evident by divers having voluntarily resigned their seats in the House of Assembly, and by others having by public advertisements signified their declining the service and requesting their countrymen to choose others in their places, and by many having refused to accept of places in the executive part of the Government. We are not conscious that as Englishmen and dutiful subjects we have ever forfeited our right of electing or

being elected; but because we could serve no longer in those stations with satisfaction to ourselves, many of us have chosen to forbear the exercise of these rights.

The accusation of our having been profuse to savages and carefully avoiding to contribute to the relief and support of the distressed families on the frontiers who have abandoned their possessions and fled for their lives, is equally invidious and mistaken. We very early and expeditiously promoted a subscription and contributed to the relief of the distresses of those who were plundered and fled from their habitations in the beginning of the Indian war, which was distributed among them in provisions and clothing and afforded a seasonable relief. Divers among us in the city of Philadelphia also contributed with others the last summer, and we are well assured that money was raised and sent up by the members of our Society in different parts of the country, and as soon as we were informed that the greatest part of what had been voluntarily raised by the citizens of Philadelphia was nearly expended, a subscription was set on foot to which several very generously contributed and a large sum might soon have been raised and was stopped only on account of the tumult which hath lately happened. It hath been from our regard to our fellow-subjects on the frontiers and sympathy with their afflicting distresses, and a concern for the general welfare of the Province, that engaged our brethren to raise the money they applied to promote a pacification with the Natives and no separate views of interest to ourselves; but thus unhappily our most upright and disinterested intentions are misconstrued and perverted to impose on the weak and answer the pernicious schemes of the enemies of peace.

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## CHAPTER IV.

## THE CONTEST WITH THE PROPRIETORS.

The departure of the Paxton Rioters left matters in a strained position in Philadelphia. While no considerable portion of the people dared openly to sympathize with them, it was the general belief that secretly many were hoping that a change of political ascendancy would be the result of the movement. A flood of criticism and abuse was launched at Benjamin Franklin and the Quakers, and for a few years there was a close political alliance between these rather discordant elements. Franklin was defeated for the Assembly this fall by a majority of twenty-five for his opponent in a vote of four thousand; and against the bitterest opposition of the Proprietary party, which hoped he was now permanently retired, he was sent to England to secure the transfer of the power to appoint Governors from the Proprietors to the King.

James Pemberton writes to Dr. Fothergill:

Dear Friend :

Phila., 10th mo. 11, 1764.

I wrote to thee last on the third and fifth ults., when I gave some account of the great industry here using by



our proprietary politicians against the day of election which is now passed, and they have so far succeeded in their unwearied endeavors of calumniating Benj. Franklin as to prejudice the minds of the lower classes of the people against him, by which, together with scandalous artifices, by a very small majority he is excluded from a seat in the present House of Assembly.

Altho' they have fallen short of their intended scheme, a great majority of the old members being again returned, yet they exult on this occasion, their enmity having been of late principally vented upon him, knowing his great abilities and long experience in public affairs render him the most formidable opponent to their ambitious schemes. .... It is not unlikely some of the chief of his enemies may be prompted to proceed as much further as their influence may extend to injure him in character and interest on your side by representing this occurrence an instance of his loss of favor with the people here in general; but that is far from being the case. They who know him are well assured of his integrity and retain a proper sense of his past services. No man in this Province has been so instrumental in promoting the public good; the most useful institutions we have among us may be attributed in great measure to his great understanding and disinterested regard for the benefit of this Province. I have had some opportunity of observing his conduct in public consultations, and although have necessarily been obliged to dissent from him in sentiment on some occasions, yet am well persuaded he acted upon motives justifiable to himself and a spirit of patriotism free from views mercenary or self-interested.

Matters were in a curious condition in 1764. There was a great attack by the opposition on the Quakers for managing the Province and controlling its politics. The Quaker meetings were at the same time using their utmost endeavors to prevent their members being chosen by large

popular majorities to any elective positions. This year, by strenuous efforts, they kept their membership in the Assembly down to sixteen, but the others that were elected, while not members of the Society, were very much in harmony with it on all political questions except the one question of military defence.

John Penn had been cordially received a year before as likely to be freer in his actions than the preceding Governors, and consequently more open to encourage movements which would unite the conflicting parties. Either from necessity or choice he followed another policy, and was in continual opposition to the popular will. The people finally became tired, and concluded to give up the attempt to secure their privileges by harmonious agreement with the Proprietors. By a large majority in the Assembly they adopted a resolution requesting the king to take the government to himself. Franklin was sent abroad to conduct the negotiation. Petitions went around for signature and were signed by most Friends. James Pemberton writes to Samuel Fothergill:

There hath been a long contest between our Assembly and the Governor in relation to a Supply Bill this winter, and as they attribute the occasion of their difficulties to Proprietary views of encroaching on the liberties of the

people, they formed several resolves protesting against the same, and adjourned in Third month last in order to consult their constituents about applying to the King to take this government under his immediate care and protection; in consequence of which petitions to this purpose have been handed about and signed by a great number of the inhabitants, and as I have been informed pretty generally by the members of our religious Society. To this they have been induced from various considerations, on one hand being tired with the repeated disputations between the Proprietors and the Assembly, and on the other the riotous conduct of the Presbyterians and their fearful apprehensions of their getting the legislative as well as the executive part of government into their hands.

Upon second thought there came doubts into the minds of many Friends whether after all it would be wise to run the risks attending the life of a Crown Colony. It would mean, in the first place, the loss of their venerable charter of 1701, under which they had so signally prospered, and which had been the object of so many encomiums.

The Meeting for Sufferings, as the representatives of Friends, began to investigate the probable condition of their religious rights under the Crown. The prospect of an established Episcopal Church was only one grade if any better than the Presbyterian rule. They deputed a committee to interview the Speaker of the Assembly. By this time this body was becoming perhaps a little doubtful of its wisdom in press-

ing the change, though it had gone too far to draw back.

Two of the Committee appointed to apply to the speaker of Assembly of Pennsylvania for information respecting their late proceedings, in the application they have made for a change of government, report that they were received kindly by him, and informed that directions were given to their agent to proceed cautiously in the matter, and if there appeared any danger of not retaining the religious and civil privileges the inhabitants now enjoy, to decline presenting the petition until he received further instructions from the Assembly, but that there appeared no likelihood of anything being done before the session of Parliament next winter.

One can sympathize with the desire of the people to be free from a system which gave to non-residents, whose pecuniary interests were not always identical with the civil interests of the people, the power to appoint and control the influential position of Lieutenant-Governor. On the other hand, the Friends were hardly prepared to sink into the political insignificance and precarious religious freedom of their English fellow-members. The Yearly Meeting, in which the drift evidently was towards entire non-participation in political affairs, advised that "this meeting doth not find freedom to join therewith [in the movement to dispossess the Proprietors], believing it to be most expedient for us in this



time of probation as much as may be to be still and quiet."

If, however, the movement is to prevail, they desire their influential friends in London to see that their rights are protected, and the Meeting for Sufferings writes:

Matters appearing now to be advancing nearer to a crisis than heretofore, we think it necessary to acquaint you that the Assembly have lately addressed the King to take the government of this Province into his own hands and therewith have forwarded to London divers petitions to the same effect signed by many of the inhabitants, with instructions to their agent to proceed with prudence and caution in so important a matter.

This measure has not become a subject of deliberation in any of our meetings until now, when we find that many of our brethren have previously signed these petitions, and many others have not been free to do it.

After consideration of an affair of so great importance, the event of which being uncertain and unforeseen how nearly we may be affected thereby, we think it most advisable and safest for us to decline appearing in support thereof, nor do we choose to interfere further than our duty and interest appear to require, that in case this measure is likely to be carried into execution, to request and desire the continuance of your brotherly care and attention, to interpose with your influence, and as there may be occasion to represent our circumstances in such manner as you may judge most conducive for the preservation of those inestimable privileges which our ancestors obtained for themselves and successors, and which were a principal inducement to their removal from their native land, to encounter the danger, toil, and expense of improving a wilderness wherein their honest endeavors have been so signally blessed by Divine Providence, that the Province has engaged the admiration of strangers, and has been a retreat

to many, from the oppression and arbitrary power of foreign princes, whereby a great addition is made to the number of British-American subjects, nor are we conscious that by any conduct of ours we have forfeited our right to the enjoyment of them."

In a future letter they convey £100 "towards defraying such expenses as you may be subject to on account of any application on our behalf, to prevent our being deprived of our religious liberties."

Israel Pemberton gives his views on the subject in a letter to David Barclay on the 6th of Eleventh month, 1764.

Thou hast some years since had my sentiments of the leaders of the parties and their measures, and I wish I could on further experience think more favorably of most of them. The Proprietors have certainly been very unhappy in forming a wrong judgement of their real friends, and in rejecting the reasonable proposals of contributing toward the expense of cultivating friendship with the Indians before any rupture with them, and since, in contending first for an exemption from paying their proportion of the public taxes, and afterwards for the tax being laid on their estate in an unequal manner. Notwithstanding, the disposition of people of all denominations to renew a good understanding with their family was very evident on our present governor's arrival, and it would then have been in his power (if his disposition and capacity had concurred) to improve the opportunity of putting an end to all those controversies, but either through his weakness or the advice of evil counsellors, or both, this was omitted, and contrary measures pursued. The smallness of the Proprietaries' quotas toward the public taxes evinced that the mode of assessing was much in their favor, yet as soon as

new supplies were called for the fatal resolution again appeared of screening their estate from sharing an equal part of the burden. This, added to the resentment raised by omitting and evading a due inquiry into the conduct of the authors and perpetrators of the late inhuman massacres, and conniving at the continuance of their further wicked attempts, embittered the minds of people in general, and rendered the government so contemptible that all hope seemed to be lost of any alteration for the better, but by its being taken out of the hands of the Proprietaries. Those who had long wished for it were so industrious in laying hold of the occasion that while the ferment lasted numbers were drawn in to sign petitions to the king to take the government into his own hands, with whom many friends of this city were so imprudent as to join, and those who kept out of the snare had not time and strength sufficient to prevent others from being taken in. The exercise and close trial this brought on many friends hath been, and is, very great; yet it hath afforded a full opportunity to the Proprietaries and their agents to see that there are some of us whom no resentment of the most injurious treatment could sway to retaliate by joining in these measures. A redress of grievances was so necessary that we could not blame those who from the duty of their station sought it, but in doing it to endanger the loss of those liberties and privileges by which we had been distinguished appeared to us imprudent.

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We expected the advice and conduct of Isaac Norris, who had many years been speaker of our assembly, would have had some effect, but in this we were also disappointed. Last summer, being in a weak state of body, and tired out with the tedious controversies with the governor, when he found the assembly in general determined in pursuing those measures, which he apprehended it unsafe to be accessory to, he chose to resign his seat. Some change being this year made in the assembly, and his state of health much recovered, as it was said the governor had instructions to make some concessions, he entertained hopes of promoting

a reconciliation, and restraining from precipitate measures. He then was induced to consent to accept of the speaker's seat again, but when he found the governor declined communicating anything toward a reconciliation, and that the majority of the present assembly were bent on pursuing the measures he had before disapproved, after giving the house his sentiments thereon, he again resigned his seat, and retired home heartily concerned for the unhappy circumstances of his country, which he could neither redress nor prevent, his salutary advice being rejected with contempt by those who formerly revered it.

Thus Benjamin Franklin is again employed on another negotiation. It is alleged by those who have urged it most that his knowledge and interest will do great service to the colonies by obtaining some alleviation of those inconveniences we are subjected to by some late acts of parliament, and the prevention of others with which we are threatened.

Nothing, I think, should be omitted which can be done to prevent Richard Jackson (the other agent), being misled by a notion that the prosecution of these measures is agreeable to the people of the Province in general, for tho' the dissatisfaction of the people with the conduct of the Proprietary agents is very general, yet the desire of preserving our constitution on its original basis is so deeply fixed that they would rather submit a little longer to these inconveniences, still being in hopes of redress; and they will not think those, their friends, who at this juncture risk the loss of it; and it was owing to a confidence in the majority of the present assembly having more deliberation on this important subject that numbers were induced to decline pushing for a greater change than was made, and many of us omitted voting, as we have done for several years past; it is ten years since I voted at all.

The aversion the Proprietaries and Franklin have to each other I am sensible will render the measures necessary for an amicable accommodation—difficult, yet, I hope, not impracticable, by the united assistance of such friends who may have some interest with them, if such who can influence the agent could prevail with them in a proper man-







"THE SOLITUDE," IN ZOÖLOGICAL GARDEN, FAIRMOUNT PARK.  
BUILT AND OCCUPIED BY JOHN PENN, GRANDSON OF THE FOUNDER, WHEN IN THIS COUNTRY  
AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

ner to make such proposals as they think reasonable, and those, with such other friends as have weight with the Proprietaries, would engage them favorably to receive and calmly to consider what they may offer, and seriously to reflect on the importance of this crisis, by which the connection between them and the people seems likely to be determined.

When Franklin reached England, in December, 1764, he found no encouragement in the special mission to which he had been deputed, but much to do to protect his province and other provinces from the encroachments of King and Parliament. The movement that sent him was rather short-sighted and impulsive, and both he and his constituents were soon willing to cease to press it. Its main advantage was to secure at the English court an unrivaled diplomat to look after his country's interest in the trying pre-revolutionary days.

In a letter under date of April 22d, 1765, Israel Pemberton says: "Franklin has never presented his petition for change of government, and writes little about it." Richard Jackson, in a letter to the Speaker, says: "Dr. Fothergill and Mr. Brown have had several conferences with Mr. Penn, which will, I hope, have good consequences, but the attention to matters of general concern at present engage all our care

and vigilance so much that we do not think it prudent to do anything relative to the particular affairs of the Province."



## CHAPTER V.

## PREPARING FOR THE REVOLUTION.

The series of events which immediately precipitated the Revolution began about the year 1764. The English Government felt that the losses incurred by the protection of colonial frontiers and expenses of colonial management justified an attempt to replenish the national treasury by colonial taxes. With the American opposition to this claim the Pennsylvania Quakers sympathized, and yet their opposition was tempered by their traditional attitude of obedience to the constituted government.

Being the leading merchants of Philadelphia, the Navigation Acts, limiting their trade to English countries and by English ships, were a great blow to their prosperity, yet they did not, nor did others, seriously protest. The prohibition of the exportation and manufacture of certain articles was also submitted to as properly within the range of English control. They would have nothing to do with smuggling, even objecting to their members purchasing goods so imported.

“Are Friends careful not to defraud the King

of his dues?" was regularly queried in every Monthly Meeting, and a negative answer brought down the disfavor of the church upon the offending parties. The early years of English suffering, with the triumphant result of privileges gained by passive resistance to objectionable laws and active obedience to others, had not been forgotten. The ruling spirit, developed by almost a century of control, had made the Pennsylvania Friends more militant than their forefathers, but in their most representative members was the same deeply-rooted idea of obedience to every law which did not touch their consciences. They had none of the qualities of revolutionists.

When in 1765, the Stamp Act was passed, Philadelphia vigorously entered into the movement against its enforcement. She drove away the officers, and agreed to absolute non-importation of British goods as most likely to bring the home government to terms. Franklin, from England, counselled submission, but his voice was not heeded in the outbreak.

Many Friends were in the movement. The names of over fifty of them were on the non-importation agreement, including Israel and James Pemberton, and other prominent members in the

meeting. There they naturally belonged. For nearly a century they had been supporting the cause of liberty against King and Proprietor. They held to a large extent the confidence of the people, and their merchants were in the best position to take an effective part. Moreover, an agreement not to import did not necessarily involve any disobedience to law, and was quite a Quaker method of resistance. So far as this was concerned there seems to have been general unanimity.

They thought it necessary to explain to their London Friends how far they would go in the matter of resistance, and wrote as follows:

To the Friends of the Meeting for Sufferings in London:

The general discontent which hath appeared in several colonies on the imposition of duties for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath sometime past been publicly known, and that the people have been uniting by various methods to avert the consequences of being thus taxed without their own consent. In Pennsylvania so large a number of the people are inclined to moderation that the public deliberations and measures have been concluded in such manner as to evidence our desires to convince our superiors of our resolutions to sue for redress in a manner becoming our inferior stations; but it was not without much difficulty a steady perseverance in these moderate measures was maintained, and when it appeared that the Parliament, in their last sessions, were not likely to repeal the laws which occasioned such discontent here, the earnest importunity raised by many in Philadelphia to have some further steps taken so far prevailed that many of the merchants and tra-

ders in this city were induced to enter into an agreement not to import most kinds of the English manufactures until these laws are repealed. This was thought by many a measure which the circumstances of the people rendered necessary, as they were already too deeply indebted, and that by it more frugality and economy might be enforced and observed among us. The expediency of the measure being generally allowed, the particular terms of the agreement were not attended to with so much deliberation as it now appears was necessary; and thus numbers subscribed to them without considering the force and tendency of some of the articles; and a committee being necessary to conduct this business, and many of the parties, having more confidence in Friends than in others, nominated some of our brethren to be of that committee, and even went so far as to name some that were not there nor have since entered into their agreement, and some of those Friends who consented to it have declared their views to be the hope of prevailing by their advice to have such measures pursued as would be consistent with the public interest without violating the rights of individuals. Some months passed before anything occurred to show them the difficulty they had thus subjected themselves to; but by the arrival of a vessel here lately from Yarmouth, laden with malt, they have been brought to see and feel it. And the apprehensions we have that the conduct of our brethren may be misrepresented induces us, after weighty and deliberate consideration, had at several meetings, and enquiry into the affair, to acquaint you. It appears that when this vessel arrived, and the merchant to whom she was consigned applied to several of the committee for advice respecting the landing of the cargo, they informed him they thought he might without offense land it, but in a general meeting of the committee such a difficulty ensued that, contrary to the opinion of some of the Friends who were present, as they have informed us, it was decided to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the city in the State-house; at which meeting such resolutions were hastily taken as determined the captain to take his cargo from hence to



Ireland. Our monthly meeting happened before the captain sailed, and the Friends who attended it, being deeply affected on the consideration of this afflicting case, and desirous of preventing if possible the evil consequences of it, appointed several of us to confer with our brethren who were of that committee, and afterwards to converse with the captain and merchant. The Friends of the committee appeared fully convinced of the imprudence of thus assuming the authority to call together the people, the greater part of whom were incapable of judging prudently on a matter of so great importance; and, therefore, they have been determined not to be drawn in again to assent to such a proposal. Our conference with the captain, we hoped, tended in some measure to remove the prejudice he might go away with against the people in general, as we assured him of the anxiety and pain Friends in general and the more considerate and judicious of all denominations were under on his account, and as we thought it not impracticable for him still to land his cargo he so far followed our advice as to apply again to the committee of merchants who met in pursuance of his desire, but, after receiving their answer and consulting with his merchant, he thought proper to go from hence with his cargo for Cork in Ireland. There have been several meetings of the committee, and a general meeting of the parties to the agreement, at which resolutions have been taken which manifest the dangerous tendency of contributing to the support of such associations, and, as some of those Friends who were on the committee have declared their disapprobation of these measures, and Friends at the monthly meeting of Philadelphia generally united to advise their members wholly to withdraw from and keep out of them, we are in hopes such further occasion will be avoided as may subject us as a religious society to any censure from our superiors, as we desire to approve ourselves both in principle and practice dutiful, affectionate and loyal subjects to the King, and peaceable members of civil society, firmly believing that as we live in that love which is graciously shed "abroad in our hearts through Jesus Christ," and renewed in us in

these times of probation, we shall be preserved on the true foundation and experience, "all things to work together for our good."

To the influence of Friends is doubtless due the fact that the remonstrance of Pennsylvania was a moderate though firm protest against the Stamp Act, unaccompanied by any of the rioting which prevailed in most of the other colonies. The merchants of Philadelphia united in an appeal to their fellow merchants of London to use their influence to secure its repeal. This attitude probably counted for more than the frantic attacks of New England. Indeed, as Dr. Fothergill writes, "Nothing has created so great difficulties to your friends or furnished your opponents with so many arguments against you as the tumultuous behavior of too many on your side of all ranks. The Parliament saw its authority not only rejected, but despised, opposed and insulted. What difficulties has not this madness occasioned to all who endeavored to serve you?" Men of Anglo-Saxon blood find it difficult to retreat from an untenable position in the face of bluster, but are often open to fair and reasonable expostulation. It may be an interesting speculation to consider the results which would have followed if instead of hot

words and armed resistance, the encroachments of Britain had been met with passive refusal and dignified remonstrance. This method is successful in private life, and better achieves its results than brag and threatenings. Perhaps it would be so in public affairs also.

The American people were very determined. "Many of the people here and generally in the eastern provinces declare they will be content with nothing less than a repeal of the Act, or a suspension of its execution, and some foolishly boast of their ability and determination to oppose any force that may be sent to enforce it; to such a height of infatuation are they already advanced," writes James Pemberton, then just elected to the Assembly by the city of Philadelphia. It was the Presbyterian element which most thoroughly sympathized with the spirit of New England resistance, and against which Pemberton had carried the election. His success in such a trying time was a pledge of the conservatism of Philadelphia.

The "Stamp Act Congress," which met in New York just after the passage of the obnoxious measure, issued most able addresses to King and Parliament, and a Declaration of Rights. None of these suggested disloyalty, and yet ten

years before the outbreak of hostilities, the violent men were threatening forcible resistance and growing confident of its success. James Pemberton was not exactly satisfied with the doings of the Congress. "The business of the late Congress in New York was not concluded with that concord and unanimity which the occasion required, and therefore I do not find much dependence is placed on the issue of their proceedings."

While Friends joined in the non-importation movement, the forcible ejection of the King's officers was too great a stretch of disobedience to be encouraged. The responsible members publicly and privately advised their younger friends to keep out of the commotion, and the Yearly Meeting thought it a suitable time to revive George Fox's counsel of 1685:

Whatever bustlings or troubles or tumults or outrages should rise in the world keep out of them; but keep in the Lord's power and in the peaceable truth that is over all, in which power you seek the peace and good of all men, and live in the love which God has shed abroad in your hearts through Jesus Christ, in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ.

The resistance of the Americans of all sorts prevailed, and the Stamp Act, after a life of about a year, was repealed. Pitt thundered



from his sick bed in the House of Commons, "I rejoice America has resisted."

The London merchants were strenuous for repeal, fearing not only the temporary destruction of their trade, but the industrial independence of America, and with a majority of over one hundred the Act went down. Great was the rejoicing in the colonies. William Pitt was the hero of the day, and many a statue was proposed in his honor. Even the King enjoyed a little brief popularity.

Dr. Fothergill sent over to James Pemberton advance intelligence of the good news.

By the clemency of the King, the steadiness, ability and application of the present ministry, the moderation and humanity of the House of Commons, I hope the Stamp Act is in a fair way to be repealed, your other difficulties removed, and your commerce restored to a better footing than ever.

Yet he foresaw that the triumph of the Americans would not make for good feeling if they did not restrain themselves.

. From the prompt impetuous temper of the Americans much is to be feared, unless those amongst them who are guided by reason and reflection immediately interpose. Demonstrations of joy carried beyond a certain point will be most certainly fatal to both countries, and no person can better serve them than by repressing them.

If P[itt] has pleaded your cause most strenuously, don't therefore crown him King of America. If G[eorge]

G[renville] has opposed you to the utmost stretch of his abilities, don't consign him to be hanged in effigy at every town's end.

So, forewarned, Pemberton and his friends set themselves to work to moderate the expressions of joy of the people. The Assembly sent a dignified declaration of their gratification to the King. The exuberance of the popular demonstrations of New England and New York was very much toned down in Philadelphia, and the Assemblyman could write:

The minds of the people of this Province are greatly settled, and a favorable prospect offers of a more firm union between us and the mother-country than heretofore. Many essays were making towards erecting manufactures of different kinds to which necessity seemed likely to compel. The spirit for it abates, and improvements in agriculture will take place, being most natural to the genius and situation of the inhabitants where the price of labor is so high as with us.

The Quaker method of resistance to the Stamp Act embraced quiet and legal opposition, dignified protest, and moderate expressions of gratification.

Three men wrought together most unitedly in this matter, and in several similar ones in the ten years to come,—Franklin, Fothergill and Pemberton. Franklin was considered by all to be extremely judicious and conservative. His sci-

entific attainments were the wonder of the world; his diplomatic skill was unquestioned, and his qualities as a municipal and provincial legislator were unexcelled by any one since the death of Isaac Norris. He was bitterly hated by the proprietary party, and everything to his discredit was made the most of. It was even reported that he had betrayed his country, and had advised the passage of the Stamp Act. He counselled submission, and secured a place as collector for a friend, but the charges of disloyalty are manifestly untrue.

Pemberton wrote to his English friends, enclosing a memorial from "a number of sober and religious disposed Germans of the Society called Swingfelders," which appears to have been a testimony to Franklin's character, and asking his correspondents, Dr. Fothergill and Henton Brown, to give information of Franklin's assiduity in serving his constituents. They reply a few months later:

We can safely aver, from our own knowledge as well as from the testimony of many persons here of undoubted character and reputation, that Benjamin Franklin was so far from proposing the stamp act, or joining with it in any manner, that he at all times opposed it, both in word and writing, tho' in vain, as neither his nor any other endeavor could influence the then ministry to relinquish the design.

But if any doubt of his diligence or sincerity in this respect had remained, the evidence he gave before the House of Commons on the occasion of the bill for repealing this act was such as to remove every scruple of the kind. For the information he gave the House, the distinct, judicious and convincing proofs he laid before them of the impropriety of the stamp act, we believe, had considerable influence with the Parliament.

In respect to the commission with which he was charged from the Province of Pennsylvania, we can assert of our own knowledge that he has endeavored, both by admitting friendly mediations and by pursuing more vigorous measures when these proved unsuccessful, to discharge his duty most uprightly to his constituents.

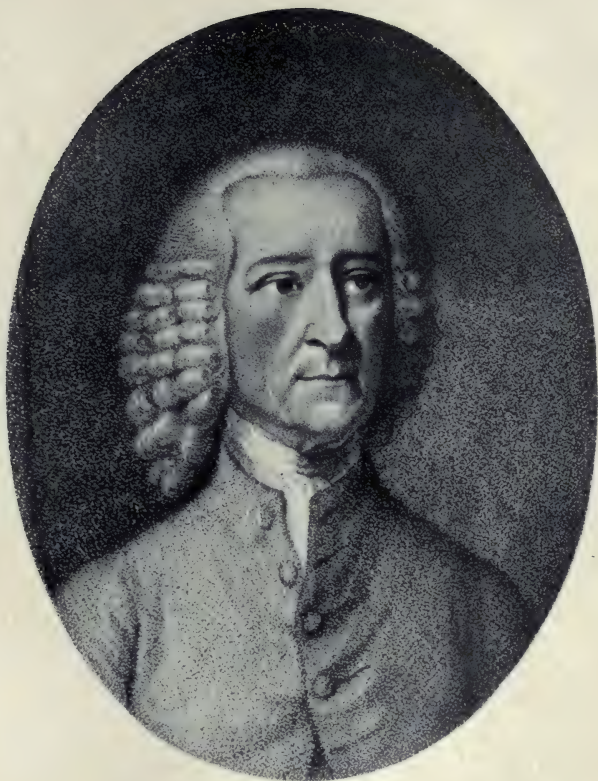
And it should rather be attributed to the singularly unfavorable position of affairs both at home and in America, than to the want of industry and address, that he has not hitherto succeeded in his negotiations.

We hope this attestation will fully satisfy Dr. Franklin's friends, and enable them to do his character that justice which we think his steady attachment to the interests of America in general, and of his own province in particular, deserves.

We also find Pemberton in a friendly way advising Franklin to write more frequently to the Committee on Correspondence of the Assembly, even if there is nothing to say, in order to show his activity and interest in his commission and to stop criticism.

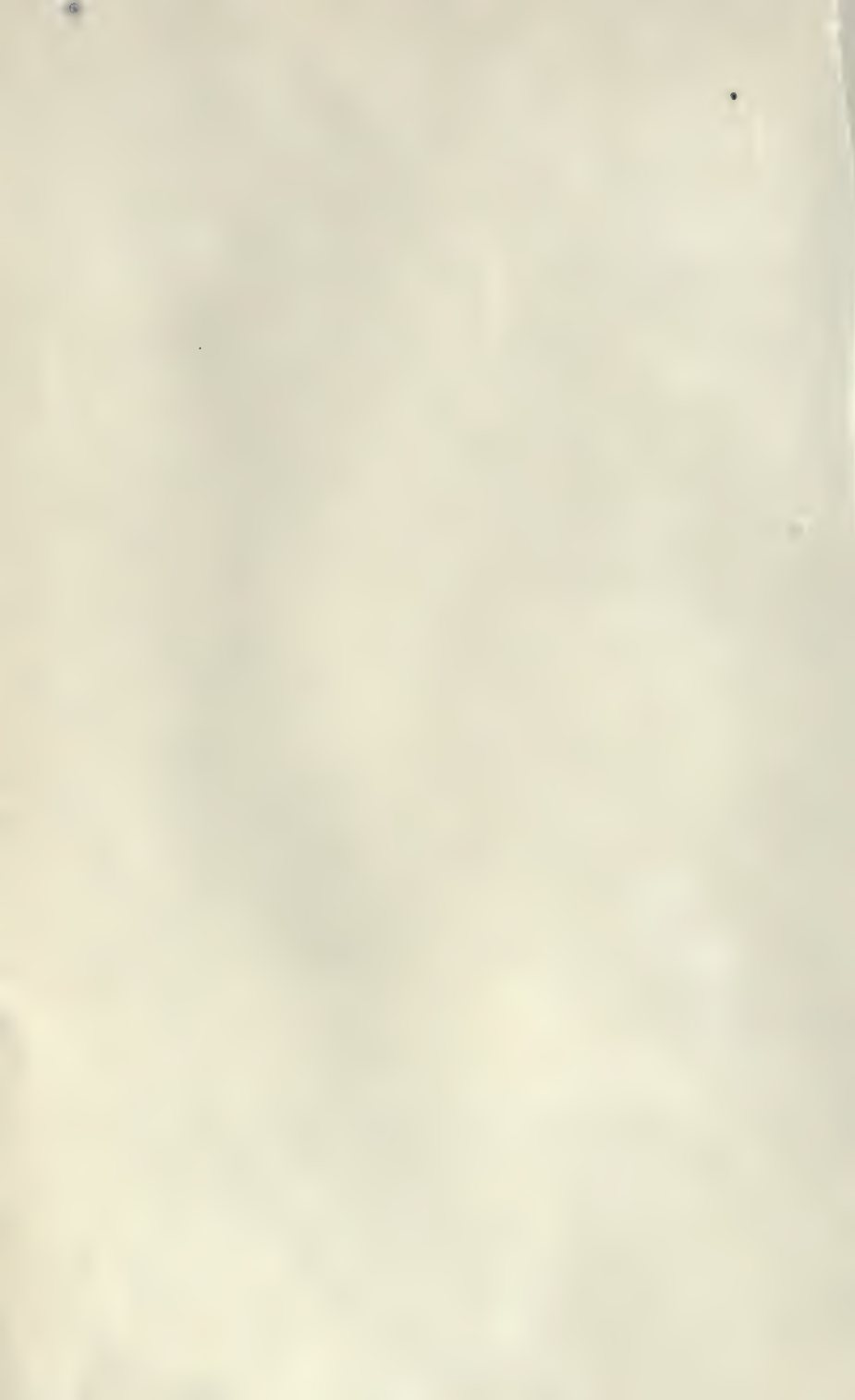
Dr. John Fothergill was a man to whom America owes a strong debt of gratitude for the work he attempted and partly accomplished in her cause. He was a Yorkshireman, a Quaker





DR. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

FROM AN OLD PRINT.



by birthright, a graduate in medicine of the University of Edinburgh, who began practice in a humble way in London. His great abilities, his courtly manners, his fidelity to his profession, brought to him a most lucrative practice from the nobility and wealth of the capital. Though chronically overworked in his profession, his large public spirit kept him continually engaged in a variety of philanthropic and political movements of an unsectarian character. His access to the influential men of England, many of whom were his patients, gave him great opportunities for advancing anything he had at heart.

As one of the great botanists of his day he was brought into association with many Americans of note. John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall were his collectors. Owning the best stocked botanical gardens in the world, except only the Royal Gardens at Kew, he sought to introduce into his country every valuable plant from all over the world. His botanical interests constituted a strong tie with America. Another was his Quaker acquaintance, gained by the religious travels of his father and brother, both ministers, in the colonies. Then he was for a long time a clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and a prominent member of the Meeting for Suffer-

ings. In this way he had abundant opportunities for intimate acquaintance with American conditions and with English political tendencies, and used all for the furtherance of good understanding and good will. With James Pemberton as an ally in Philadelphia, and Franklin as a diplomatic go-between, the trio wrought at many an international problem, and essayed some that were too difficult for their solution.

His most useful co-laborer was David Barclay, the grandson of the Apologist, and the two, with Franklin, as we shall see later, made an attempt, which for a time seemed hopeful, to settle the difficulties between the mother-country and the colonies. Franklin says of him: "I doubt whether there has ever existed a man more worthy than Dr. Fothergill of universal esteem and veneration." And again: "If we may estimate the goodness of a man by his disposition to do good, and his constant endeavors and success in doing it, I can hardly conceive that a better man has ever existed." Upon hearing of Dr. Fothergill's death, in 1781, he wrote to David Barclay: "I condole with you most sincerely on the loss of our dear friend, Dr. Fothergill. I hope that some one who knew him well will do justice to his memory by an account of his life



and character. He was a great doer of good. How much might have been done, and how much mischief prevented, if his, your and my joint endeavors in a certain melancholy affair had been attended to." \* It is one of the best testimonials to Franklin's character at this time that the esteem was reciprocated.

The following letter of James Pemberton to Dr. Fothergill will give an idea of the political condition of the Province after the repeal of the Stamp Act, and of the rivalry of the sects. It shows evidence of the growing *rapprochement* of the Friends and Episcopalians, which became pronounced in the few years immediately preceding the Revolution:

I am unwilling to neglect this opportunity of transmitting thee some account of our present circumstances, though a minute detail of occurrences relating to our public affairs may be rather tedious than interesting.

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\* The standing of Fothergill in Pennsylvania is shown by an abstract from a letter of Samuel Purviance, Jr., September 10th, 1764. He says in reference to the activity of Friends in urging the abolition of proprietary government: "Last night, John Hunt, a famous Quaker preacher, arrived from London in order, it is believed, to give Friends a rap on the knuckles for their late proceedings; and it is said a brother of the famous Fothergill will immediately follow on the same errand, tho' their great sticklers have, by numerous falsehoods, propagated a belief that their friends at home highly approve of their measures." —Shippen Letters, p. 206.

It gives the true friends to the Province much satisfaction to find our address, and those from the other colonies, on the repeal of the stamp act, were approved and well received, and that the conduct of the people has not furnished occasion of uneasiness to our friends or triumph to our opponents on your side, from which we flatter ourselves the ensuing session of Parliament may produce a further redress of our grievances; a repeal of the act prohibiting an emission of paper currency is an object of our particular attention. Long experience has given the most undeniable proofs of the advantage of that currency to the people of this Province in promoting cultivation, commerce, and defraying the exigencies of government, the want of which medium reduces the people to extreme difficulties to fulfill their contracts; the business of the lawyers is greatly increasing, plantations frequently selling by execution at less than one-half the value which they brought a few years past, and the complaints from all quarters daily increasing; the public debt accumulating to a great sum and no means to discharge it, but by adding to the taxes, which are already very burdensome to the laborious part of the people; so that unless we are relieved in this matter our situation must inevitably be very distressing, and those of inferior circumstances fall under subjection to the power of the rich. Our assembly of this year have renewed their instructions to the agents, warmly to solicit this matter to the Parliament, in which we hope they will be supported by the respectable merchants of your city, whose interest is intimately concerned therein.

The sessions of the assembly of last year concluded satisfactorily. I have sent thee, per John Morton, a young man passenger in this ship, the minutes for thy amusement at a leisure hour. Our late election approached without much previous stirring on the part of the Presbyterian party, until a few weeks before the day, when some letters written by the stamp master of this city to London, said to be sent from thence, appeared in one of our public papers, in order to excite a clamor and rouse them on the occasion, but failed of answering all the purposes intended by the

publishers; the most considerate of the party, despairing of success, had given over an intention of moving, the falsehoods propagated against Franklin being cleared away, and the conduct of the assembly furnishing no fresh occasion for clamor. They at length concluded to attempt the change of one member in this country, Jos. Galloway, concerning whom they alleged he had written in favor of the stamp act; in opposition they set up Dickinson, his former opponent, which, it is said, was encouraged by a few of our friends, but in this scheme they failed much beyond their expectation, and my colleague of last year, who I thought a valuable member in the house, tho' accounted to be of the proprietary part, refusing to serve, they prepared to keep Dickinson for a burgess in opposition to another, Lawyer Ross, but again failed, the latter being elected after a smart struggle, which may be attributed in some measure to the serviceable law we obtained last winter, which I wish to see confirmed by royal authority, as it will prevent a great deal of swearing and foreswearing and the shameful impositions to which our elections have been heretofore subject.

The present assembly being, all but three, the same members as last year, met, pursuant to charter, on the 14th ulto., and proceeded on the business appearing necessary at that time, having first chosen a new speaker (Galloway), whose qualifications must be allowed superior to the former speaker (Fox), but as there appeared too much of a spirit of party, as I apprehended, I could not join therein; the choice has been an occasion of speculation among the people, but I hope will not be attended with much ill consequence; tho' I avoid mixing with the multitude in their discussion of political points, thinking it safest to remain unbiased in my judgment and endeavoring to pursue what I apprehend will promote the general good as far as I am capable to determine and may be assisted by wisdom superior to my own, which I find as necessary to be attended to in that station as in business which may be looked upon as of a more religious nature.

The people of the increasing society (Presbyterians) who

have been of late very active in our political affairs, finding their forcible measures fail of success, begin now to make professions of regard and friendship, urging moderation and a union of the dissenters in opposition to the power of the established church, being greatly alarmed at the apprehension of a bishop being fixed in America, which they foresee must tend to lessen their power and number, there being the utmost reason to expect many of their preachers will gladly embrace an opportunity of accepting a benefit at the expense of others or the public.

The vast increase of these people upon the continent must in great measure be attributed to the too apparent neglect of the Church of England, who, to the dishonor of their profession, have so little regard to the morals of the persons they appoint to the office of clergymen. Had they been careful to send over men who had a due regard to the cause of religion, or at least such who are careful to support a moral character, and promoted the erecting of worship houses as the country increased in inhabitants, many of the present generation, whose fathers were of the Church of England, might have been prevented from being educated in the bigotry of Presbyterianism, and until the bishops are more in earnest to promote their society in these parts it will continue to make a poor figure; on the contrary a moderate care to employ men of sobriety and exemplary conversation will be the most rational human means of retarding the rapid progress of the others, who are indefatigable in promoting the cause of their sect, watching all opportunities of sending out the young preachers from the college of this city, New Jersey, and an academy in the lower counties, providing places for them to erect schools and meeting houses in all parts of the several provinces where they can hear they are wanted; and it must be allowed the synods are careful to promote such men who are at least careful in their moral conduct, by which means they obtain an influence in their neighborhood, and draw numbers to them who would prefer the Church of England as a more fashionable profession had they the opportunity; others, again, are filled with zeal or passion,



thundering out anathemas, by which they captivate some and frighten others to believe them to be true ministers of the Gospel.

When the Stamp Act was repealed, it was accompanied by a declaration of right to lay further taxes of a similar nature. In the great joy and triumph of the repeal this was overlooked. But the ministry were determined not to allow America to forget that she was a subject bound by any laws which the parent country might choose to enact. Evidently there was no sympathy or aid to be looked for, and the best to be expected was neglect. William Logan, writing from London, Sixth month 21st, 1768, says:

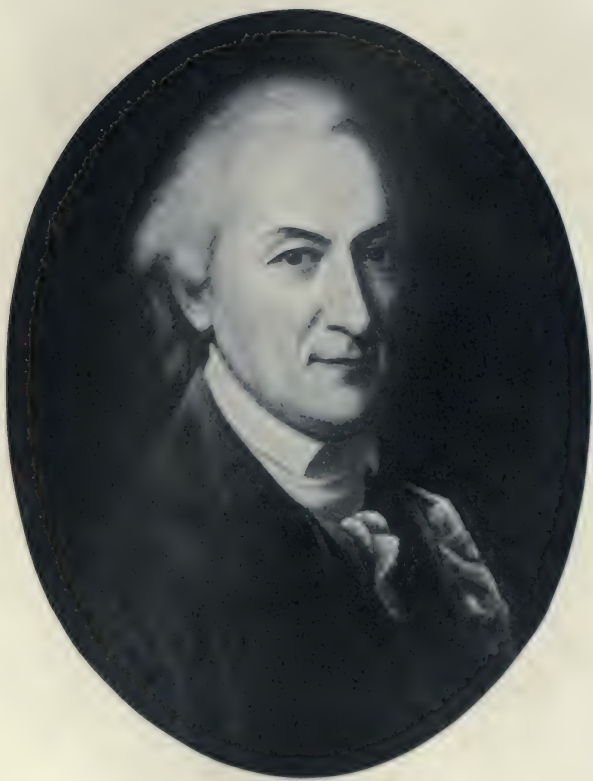
You may conquer the Indians, but that conquest which accompanies carnage and the ruin of a few helpless savages is inconsistent with the humanity which is the characteristic of a British soldier. Whatever misfortune you are involved in, you will find no country less ready to assist you than the English; they despise and hate you, and I am apt to think that they would see your country depopulated, your trade ruined and themselves reduced to the greatest extremity rather than try to avert the misfortune. The Boston papers have been foolishly irritating, and have greatly hurt you, for the greatest number of the people in this metropolis are so ignorant of common geography that they often jumble Philadelphia, New York and Boston into towns of the same country, or else separate them into islands as far distant from each other as Minorca from Jamaica.

Hence followed a succession of irritating and futile efforts to squeeze a little revenue from

America during the succeeding ten years, till America was brought to the point of fighting. The Philadelphia Friends were too clear-sighted not to be aware of the inevitable drift. Again and again Pemberton and Fothergill, in perfect sympathy with each other, urged the objections to the foolish course of the English Ministry, and the hot-headed and illegal resistance of many of the colonists. The meetings were insistent in advising obedience to laws which did not touch conscience, and restraint and moderation in protest. They had all they could do to keep their younger members in line, and many broke away. Nor do the Friends seem to have lost their political influence in the state, but down to the very dissolution of the Assembly, in 1776, their spirit was felt in its conservative course.

Through these pre-Revolutionary days no man's influence was more important than that of John Dickinson. He was the son of a planter whose home was on the eastern shore of Maryland, a Quaker by several generations of inheritance. The father was ambitious that his boys should be well educated, and, apparently for this purpose, bought a large estate near Dover, in Delaware, and removed there in 1740, when John was eight years old. Here he became





JOHN DICKINSON.

FROM A PHOTOGRAVURE PORTRAIT AFTER THE ORIGINAL PAINTING.



judge of the county court and a man of prominence. For the next ten years the boy was under the care of a tutor, who filled his mind with high ideals and aided him to secure an English style remarkably simple and elegant and effective, which no one of that day of involved phrases, except perhaps Franklin, equalled, and which made him easily "the Penman of the Revolution."

Ten years then followed of close historical and legal study, in the Philadelphia office of the first lawyer of his day, in the Inns of Court in London, and again in Philadelphia in his own modest start at practice. His well-trained, logical mind, his conservative and orderly tendencies, his Quaker associations, made him a valuable recruit to the cause of moderate resistance which distinguished the Pennsylvania colonists. There is a basis of legality in the efforts of the Quaker colony, easily distinguishable from this time forward, which is due to his training and natural proclivities, which especially marks it when contrasted with the more impetuous appeals to the rights of man which the New Englanders made the grounds of opposition to English encroachments.

His association with Friends was probably, at least in early life, not much more than nominal.

We do not find him interested even in the business affairs of the Society, and, what was something of a test in those days, his letters even to his mother were not written in Quaker language. He was a soldier through the Revolution, yet there is apparently no record of his "disownment," though that fate befell many of his fellows, nor did he apparently have anything to do with the "Free Quakers." Yet in his later life he was closely associated with Friends, and was probably a member. The son of his friend, Chief Justice Read, writes of him: "I have a vivid impression of the man, tall and spare, his hair white as snow, his face uniting with the severe simplicity of his sect, a neatness and elegance peculiarly in keeping with it; his manners a beautiful emanation of the great Christian principle of love, with that gentleness and affectionateness which, whatever may be the cause, the Friends, or at least individuals among them, exhibit more than others, combining the politeness of a man of the world familiar with society in its most polished forms with conventional canons of behavior. Truly he lives in my memory as the realization of my beau-ideal of a gentleman." \*

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\* Stille's "Life of John Dickinson."

John Dickinson's main interests were political rather than legal, and for a political career he had equipped himself by a painstaking preparation in historical and logical study. In 1760 he was made a member of the Delaware Assembly, and two years later, at the age of 30, of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

The great question then agitating the people was the conduct of the Proprietors. In a spirit of disgust at their haggling policy the Assembly had brought in resolutions petitioning the King to take the government upon himself. The people appeared nearly unanimous for this measure. The Quakers were generally in their favor. The Presbyterians for once sided with their peaceful opponents, because they felt the difficulties of defending the frontiers while the Proprietary estates were exempt from taxation. It required some courage for even the veteran Isaac Norris to stem the tide. But to the young student of history and law, with his place to make with the people, there was not a little fortitude needed to espouse the unpopular cause. In an elegant and cogent speech he made, not a defence of the Proprietors, whose conduct he admitted to be indefensible, but a plea against the worse evils of royal government to which they were exposing

themselves. He pleaded for the old charter and the liberties it gave them, and asked if in any of the royal colonies there was more real freedom. He hinted at a possible church establishment and a standing army, and pertinently asked whether the Crown had not supported the Proprietors in their worst claims. "In seeking a precarious, hasty, violent remedy for the present partial disorder we are sure of exposing the whole body to danger."

Few would say in the light of following events that Dickinson was wrong. The Proprietors were better masters than the King would have been. So far, however, as immediate effect was concerned, the virtues of Norris and the argument of Dickinson, who afterwards became his son-in-law, were futile. The Assembly adopted the resolutions by an overwhelming vote, and sent Franklin to England. Dickinson lost his place in the subsequent election, and did not regain it till 1770, when the people began to appreciate the wisdom of his position.

When the attempt was made to impose the Stamp Act upon America, John Dickinson found himself in close accord with popular sentiment. He framed the plan of protest which was adopted by the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, appears to



have been the author of its "Declaration of Rights" and "Petition to the King," and also a draft from which the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania were largely taken. A few weeks later he aroused public sentiment by a vigorous protest, published anonymously. "Rouse yourselves, therefore, my dear countrymen. Think, oh! think of the endless miseries you must entail upon yourselves and your country by touching the pestilential cargoes that have been sent to you. Destruction lurks within them. To receive them is death: it is worse than death—it is slavery. If you do not—and I trust heaven you will not—use the stamped papers, it will be necessary to consider how you are to act." He wrote the Liberty Song, which went over the country like fire, and which contains at least one line that will never be forgotten, the watchword of the Revolution—"By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall."

During the ten years to come his pen was not idle. No other person in America gave a greater stimulus to resistance, and no other person showed so clearly the lines on which resistance was justifiable, and likely to be successful. The crown of his reputation and influence was reached by the publication of the "Farmer's Let-

ters " in 1768. These are the appeals of a statesman, not a demagogue, to conserve the liberties which Englishmen have always considered their due, by methods which Englishmen have found successful in the past. Unqualifiedly rebuking the tyranny which had attempted to impose on America the duties on paper, glass and tea, he appeals to England to meet the colonies in a conciliatory spirit, and remove the obnoxious taxes. With a veiled hint at the possibility of ultimate armed resistance, he yet counsels his brethren to carry on their opposition by legal and moderate, if firm measures. "The cause of liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. Those who engage in it should breathe a sedate yet fervent spirit, animating them to actions of prudence, justice, modesty, bravery, humanity and magnanimity."

The letters were the legal justification of American resistance, and ultimately of the Revolution. Dickinson was not prepared for independence in 1776, and refused to sign the Declaration. He did not believe that the resources of constitutional resistance were exhausted, and his conservative nature shrank from this first dis-

loyal act to the mother country. This hesitation, due to his legal studies and Quaker habits, has been the occasion of serious charges against his courage and sincerity. It has obscured the fact that for the preceding eight years he had been the acknowledged patriot leader, the most important man in America, and that "in the literature of that struggle his position is as prominent as Washington in war, Franklin in diplomacy, and Morris in finance." \* He was only thirty-five when the letters were written.

They were translated into French, and helped to mould the thought of that rapidly-fermenting country. They were reprinted in England and had a marked effect on ministry and people alike. They were the guides of American freedom, and brought down upon their author the thanks of all the leaders in the cause, and Hancock, Adams and Warren were appointed by the Bostonians a committee to express the obligations of Boston to him. During those days no serious movement was made in the colonies without consultation with him. He probably conceived the opinion that his influence could steer the whole

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\* Paul Leicester Ford in the Preface to Dickinson's Writings.

revolutionary movement by legal and peaceful means to ultimate success.

While not much of a Quaker he undoubtedly represented and dignified the Quaker idea of the preservation of liberty. He represented also their absolute loss of influence and power which coincided with the Declaration.

The Boston Tea Party had its counterpart in Philadelphia. The firm to which the East India Company had consigned their tea was a firm of Friends, Thomas and Isaac Wharton. They write:

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th (December, 1773) a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants determined that the tea should not be landed, and allowed Captain Ayres till next day to furnish himself with provisions, etc., on condition that his ship should depart from his then situation, and proceed down the river, some of the committee going down to the ship with Captain Ayres, in order to see the first step performed. . . . T. and I. W. with I. B. offered to advance Captain Ayres such a sum of money as he should need. . . . Thou wilt observe as the ship was not entered in our port the cargo was not unloaded, either the property of the Honorable East India Company or that of any private person.

In Boston they resented the suggestion of Dickinson that as a matter of conciliation they should pay for the tea. In Philadelphia, equally unwilling to land it, they sent it back, loaning the captain sufficient to see him through.



The Friends had been previously advised to keep out of the excitement. James Pemberton writes on Tenth month 30th, 1773, to several London correspondents:

By the ships now about sailing for London you will doubtless have intelligence of the uneasiness raised in the minds of the people here, and the measures they have taken to manifest it, on an account being received of the intentions of the East India Company to import a quantity of tea to this and some others of the colonies, and I apprehend it will give you some satisfaction and may not be improper to inform you of the part our Society has acted on this occasion, there being many among us concerned in trade, and some not sufficiently on their guard to act consistent with our religious professions, and, therefore, too liable sometimes to fall in with the popular outcry. It, therefore, became our concern, as soon as there was an appearance of ferment rising among the people, to collect the overseers of our three monthly meetings in order to confer on the measures most prudent and seasonable, to communicate suitable advice to our members, who all concurring in sentiment, they agreed to call in to a further conference an additional number of Friends. For this purpose they adjourned to meet the next evening, when, unanimity prevailing, it was concluded to give an invitation to all the members of our Society to collect at one of our meeting houses, and that such advice as had heretofore been given should be revived and such endeavors used as might be likely to unite us in judgment and produce consistency of conduct.

This meeting, which consisted of the greatest part of Friends of this city, happened on the evening before the day appointed for the citizens to collect at the State house, and on that account was the more seasonable. When Friends came together, the occasion of their being called was briefly opened. The advice of our ancient friend,

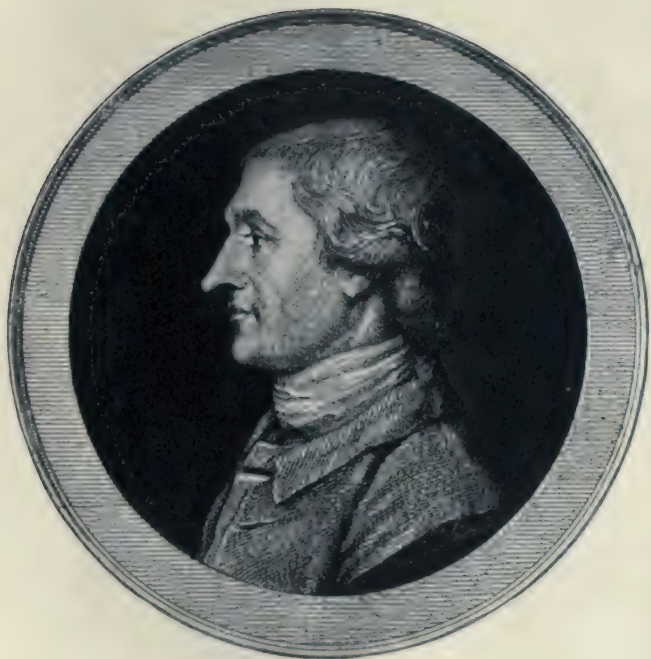
George Fox, was read, also the epistle from your Meeting of Sufferings in the year 1769, also the cautionary minute of our last yearly meeting. These were enforced by some judicious observations of divers Friends exciting to a due consideration of the nature of our religious profession, which requires us to keep quiet and still, both in respect to conversation and conduct, on such public occasions, which tended to unite us in sentiment in such manner that Friends separated well satisfied with their coming together, and manifested it by their conduct next day, there not being one, that I have heard, of any account in the Society who assembled at the State house, and the number there collected was much less than was expected.

Although we are not insensible of the encroachments of powers, and of the value of our civil rights, yet in matters contestable we can neither join with nor approve the measures which have been too often proposed by particular persons, and adopted by others, for asserting and defending them, and such is the agitation of the minds of those who are foremost in these matters it appears in vain to interfere.

The first Continental Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, in September, 1774. It was a body which breathed resistance to demands which almost every one considered unreasonable and oppressive, but it was not a revolutionary body. "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America," wrote Washington, and John Adams had pledged even refractory Massachusetts to a similar idea. "That there are any who pant after independence is the greatest slander on the Province."

The man who had most to do in preparing





CHARLES THOMSON.

FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.



Pennsylvania for this Congress was Charles Thomson. He had been the head of the Quaker school, "the-man-who-tells-the-truth" of the Indians; and now began that Revolutionary career which, as Secretary of the Continental Congress, made him almost invaluable to the patriot cause. He knew the Friends well, though not himself a member with them. He knew that some of them could not be touched by any revolutionary impulses, but others, who were men of influence in politics and society, were almost essential to the success of the cause into which, with impulsive energy, he had thrown himself. Paul Revere had come on from Boston to enlist the aid of Pennsylvania in a radical movement. The New York "Sons of Liberty" had invited correspondence, and a meeting was to be held in reply to it. Thomson had the vigorous aid of Thomas Mifflin, who, though a well-to-do Quaker merchant of Philadelphia, afterwards won distinction as a general in the war and as Governor of Pennsylvania. The moderate and philosophical Dickinson must of course be secured, and Thomson tells, in a letter \* still in existence, how he used Dickinson's influence to bring the Quakers

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\* This may be seen in the appendix to Dr. Stillé's "Life of John Dickinson."

into line. It was arranged that Thomson and Mifflin should make fiery and radical speeches in favor of aiding Boston, and that Dickinson should then follow in his favorite role of moderator and originator of policy. The plan worked perfectly, the more so perhaps as Thomson fainted in the midst of his fervent oration, and so could not tell afterwards what Dickinson had said. However, the sympathetic answer to Boston was carried in confusion, and the scheme worked out as desired.

By further plotting, a delegation of Pennsylvanians was sent to the Continental Congress. But still Pennsylvania was conservative, and the Assembly, not under the influence of Thomson and his friends, sent their speaker, Galloway, a loyalist, as the head of the delegation, with Dickinson, Mifflin, Samuel Rhoads and four others. Dickinson wrote all the important addresses.

Much was said by Thomson of the desirability of taking such a prudent course as to carry the Quaker influence with the revolutionists, for this influence would also bring the Germans into line and make the Province unanimous for liberty. Nothing, however, could move the serious

Friends who controlled the Yearly Meeting, and Thomson must have known it.

The movement was too evidently leading on to anarchy and war, and they would have nothing to do with it. The following minute shows the rigidity of their position:

At a Meeting for Sufferings, held at Philadelphia, the 15th day of the Twelfth month, 1774:

After a considerable time spent in a weighty consideration of the afflicting state of affairs and the late proceedings of the assembly of Pennsylvania in approving the resolves and conclusions of the Congress held in this city in the Ninth and Tenth months last, which contain divers resolutions very contrary to our Christian profession and principles, and as there are several members of our religious society who are members of that assembly, some of whom, we have reason to apprehend, have either agreed to the late resolves, which are declared to be unanimous, or not manifested their dissent in such a manner as a regard to our Christian testimony would require of them, being a danger of such being drawn into further inconsistencies of conduct in their public stations, the following Friends are desired to take an opportunity of informing them of the trouble and sorrow they brought on their brethren, who are concerned to maintain our principles on the ancient foundation, and to excite them to greater watchfulness, etc., to avoid agreeing to proposals, resolutions or measures so inconsistent with the testimony of truth.

James Pemberton, in a private letter, also emphasizes the same view:

Philadelphia, Eleventh month 6th, 1774.

American affairs are, I conclude, now become the subject of general attention in Great Britain, and I have no

doubt that many of our brethren are anxiously concerned for the preservation of Friends in a conduct consistent with our Christian profession and principles amidst the commotions which prevail among the people. The troubles which had begun while thou wast among us have been gradually increasing, until they are now come to a very alarming and serious crisis; the unwarrantable conduct of the people in Boston last fall has brought upon them a severe chastisement in consequence of the measures adopted by the Parliament of Great Britain; this has alarmed all the colonies, who apprehend their civil privileges invaded; a Congress of deputies from all the provinces between Nova Scotia and Georgia has been lately held in this city, which, after sitting more than six weeks, have formed such resolves and conclusions as, some of us fear, will be likely to increase our difficulties, unless, by the interposition of Providence, some way should be opened for a reconciliation. The people in New England have taken recourse to arms, and seem only to be waiting for a plausible opportunity of making use of them; hitherto the inhabitants of Boston have conducted themselves as peaceably as could be expected under the circumstances, and considering the temper of the people.

The conduct of the people in this and some of the other provinces can not be vindicated, but such is the spirit prevailing that all endeavors to bring them to a cool, dispassionate way of thinking and acting have been unavailable; so that Friends can do little more than exert their influence to persuade the members of our Society to keep out of these bustles and commotions, and this has occasioned no small care and labor, but has been so far of service that I hope it may be said we are generally clear; tho' there have been instances of some few who claim a right of membership with us that have not kept within such limits and bounds as we could wish.

On the other hand, it would be a proof of wisdom in those concerned in government on your side at least to suspend the exercise of a power, the right of which is not admitted by the colonists and is at least doubtful. Should



the administration pursue further rigorous measures it seems too likely that there will be much bloodshed in these colonies.

But there is no doubt that there were other Friends, how many it is probably impossible to ascertain, who, while not willing to join Mifflin and Dickinson in armed resistance, were in hearty sympathy with the Continental Congress, and in the eyes of the public represented the Quaker political influence. They were in the Assembly, and in the official stations through the counties. Government was theirs by the inheritance of nearly a century. They swayed the habits of thought of their constituents, and were greatly respected in every social and civil function. Many of them were of that class which modern writers call Quaker—the class which, after 1756, had filled the Assembly, and managed public affairs, except in the matter of war, on Quaker lines, but who were not members of the Society of Friends. These were the people that Thomson hoped to carry with him into the Revolution, and which the precipitancy of Massachusetts seemed in danger of estranging. They were patriotically attached to liberty, and had wrought for it effectually in the past against the encroachments of Proprietor as well as King, but

rebellion was to them a dangerous word, and respect for existing authority was deeply ingrained in their nature.

They could not see their duty quite as the meeting advised, but they wished temperately to bring the King to his senses, and abate the excitement of the people. The patriots were too precipitate. They, in 1776, without good reason, destroyed Penn's Charter of 1701, and set up, against the advice of Dickinson, Thomson and Mifflin, a revolutionary government, of which Franklin was the controlling spirit, and a certain amount of Quaker sympathy was lost to the side of independence.

While the Philadelphia Friends were striving in 1774 to be a calming influence in the affairs of the Province and of the Continental Congress, some of their English brethren were working with their ministry to avert the threatened war by timely concession.

Before the results of the Congress had reached England, David Barclay and Dr. Fothergill had asked Franklin to prepare a list of American demands, making it as moderate as possible, which they would present to men influential in the Ministry as a basis for reconciliation. As a result of this request Franklin made out seventeen

conditions as a possible basis for the restoration of good feeling. The first one was, "The tea destroyed to be paid for," and the seventeenth, "All powers of internal legislation in the colonies to be disclaimed by Parliament." The "Hints," as they were called, were the groundwork of a series of discussions, first within the trio of peacemakers, and then gradually extending the circle of those interested, until they included the moderate men of influence in the government, like Lord Howe. Franklin says:

The doctor [Fothergill] called on me and told me he had communicated them, and with them had verbally given my arguments in support of them, to Lord Dartmouth, who after consideration had told him some of them appeared reasonable, but others were inadmissible or impracticable; that having occasion to frequently see the Speaker, he had also communicated them to him, as he found him very anxious for a reconciliation; that the Speaker had said that it would be very humiliating to Britain to be obliged to submit to such terms; but the doctor told him she had been unjust and ought to bear the consequences and alter her conduct; that the pill might be bitter, but it would be salutary, and must be swallowed; that these were the sentiments of impartial men after thorough consideration and full information of all circumstances; and that sooner or later these or similar measures must be followed, or the empire would be divided and ruined.

Having thus committed himself to the "Hints" in speaking to officials, Dr. Fothergill was anxious to have Franklin abate some of the

most objectionable demands. "The good doctor, with his usual philanthropy, expatiated on the miseries of war; that even a bad peace was preferable to the most successful war; that America was growing in strength, and whatever she might be obliged to submit to at present, she would in a few years be in a condition to make her own terms." But Franklin says he told them his own property was in a seaport town, and the British might burn it when they pleased; that America had no intention to abate her terms; that England must be careful of the mischief she did, for "sooner or later she would be obliged to make good all damages with interest. The doctor smiled, as I thought, with some approbation of my discourse, passionate as it was, and said he would certainly repeat it to-morrow to Lord Dartmouth."

The ministry was foolishly inflexible, and Fothergill and Barclay finally gave it up. Franklin was about to leave for America. He says: "I met them by their desire at the doctor's house, when they desired me to assure their friends from them that it was now their fixed opinion that nothing could secure the privileges of America but a firm, sober adherence to the terms of the association made at the Congress, and that



the salvation of English liberty depended now on the perseverance and virtue of America."

In the midst of the negotiations Dr. Fothergill writes to his friend, James Pemberton:

London, First month 3d, 1775.

I am afraid they will pursue, in one shape or other, the same destructive plan,—at least it appears so to me,—that no abatement of any consequence will be made—no material alterations or concessions; of course, if you are as resolute as we seem, unhappily, to be firm, dissolution must follow. It will not be long before this will be manifest; America will then know what she has to expect. For my own part, having from my early infancy been attentive to America, more than many others,—the several visits of my father to that extensive country, of my brother, of my most valued friends—the acquaintance I have had with some of the most sensible, intelligent, judicious persons in that country, of every party, denomination, province and situation,—I cannot give up on slight grounds the opinions I have formed of them, of their rights, and of their power likewise. To say what these opinions are is unnecessary, because they are unavailing, as they are opposite to the sentiments of the generality, who, being ignorant of what America is, or by whom inhabited—looking no higher, no further, than the confined limits of a decaying empire, think with contempt of every one who pleads for freedom.

But we know not what is for the best. We should not, perhaps, be better if we grew greater; it seems to be the will of Providence that after we have humbled the pride of the most potent houses in Europe, we should be humbled likewise by our own selves in our turn. Had our greatest enemies the direction of our counsels they could not drive us to a more dangerous precipice than that to which we seem hastening with a judicial blindness.

David Barclay sent advance accounts of the negotiations to James Pemberton. He went

over the whole series of efforts to find a basis for reconciliation, and his account closely agrees with Franklin's. He also practically gives up the case, and hopes America will unitedly continue her resistance by peaceful measures. He warns Philadelphia Friends not to lay much stress on a few concessions granted by Lord North, which are, he says, for the purpose of dividing the Americans, and on behalf of "your best friend's love" rather chides them for showing a disposition to parade their loyalty at the expense of others, in an address of their Meeting for Sufferings of First month 24th, 1775: "The declaration of our religious and peaceable principles everybody must approve, and there on that ground your best friends wish you to remain."

The address hardly seems open to the objection he makes. It is a radical declaration of opposition to the whole revolutionary movement. Fothergill and Barclay seem to have favored this movement while it adopted only peaceful methods, and so, we apprehend, did a great many of the Friends of Philadelphia, but the Meeting for Sufferings objected to the illegalities and excitements which Thomson was nursing, as unnecessary, for was there not the Assembly, elected yearly, and expressing the popular will, through



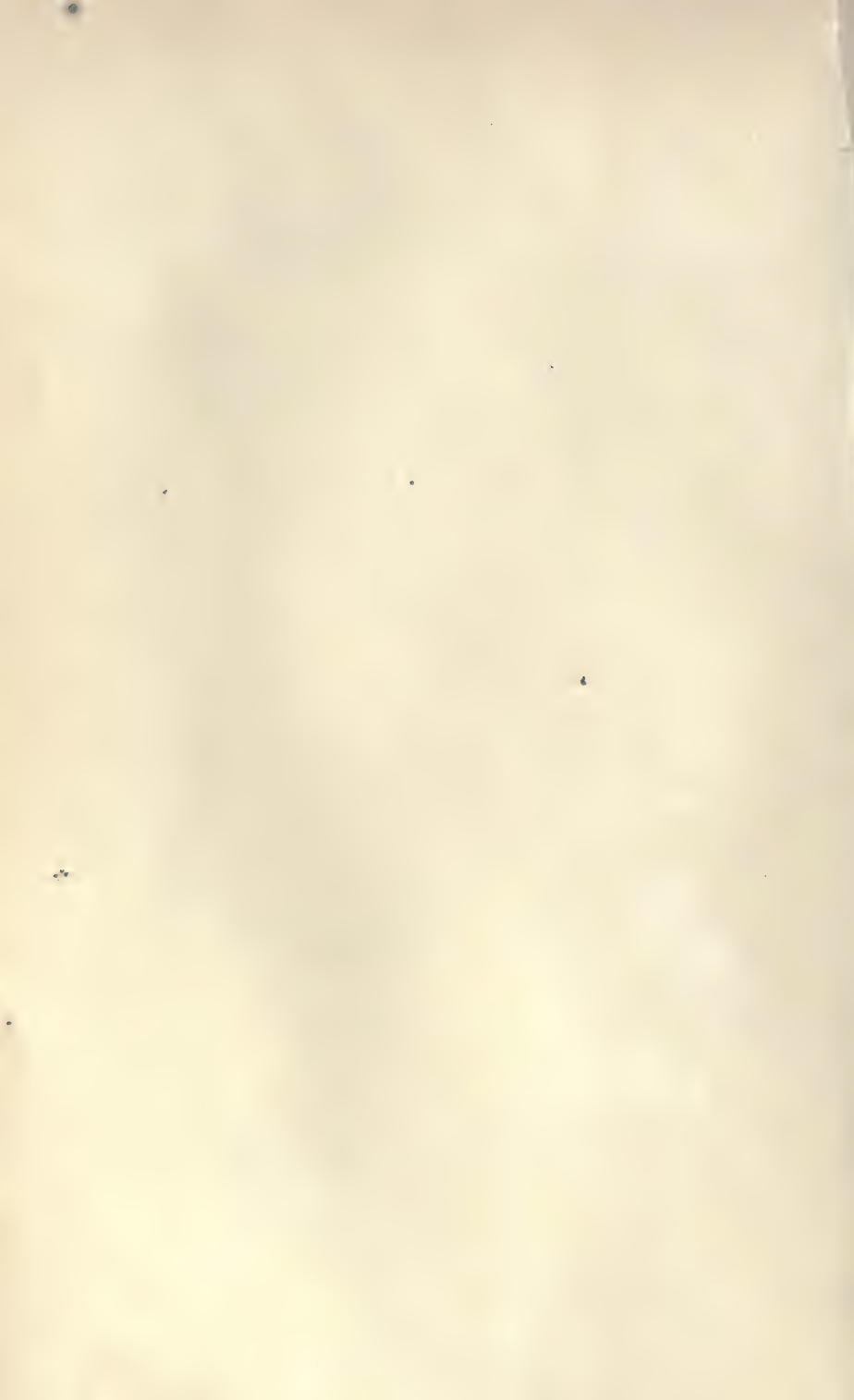
### CENTER SQUARE MEETING HOUSE.

ERECTED 1684-5, AT BROAD AND HIGH (NOW MARKET) STREETS. IT PROVED INACCESSIBLE, AND IN 1698 WAS ABANDONED, AND THE MATERIALS WERE AFTERWARDS USED IN THE ERECTION OF ANOTHER MEETING HOUSE NEAR THE RIVER FRONT.



### THE BANK MEETING HOUSE.

ERECTED 1685, ON FRONT ABOVE MULBERRY (NOW ARCH) STREETS.  
ABANDONED 1790.





which all remonstrances could be made in proper order? They knew, and the revolutionary party knew as well, that Pennsylvania was not at this time ready for radical actions, and that only by irregular and non-representative bodies could it be brought into the column for independence.

They stood their ground against illegality, as afterwards they did against war, and expressed it plainly as follows:

Having considered with real sorrow the unhappy contest between the legislature of Great Britain and the people of these colonies, and the animosities consequent thereon, we have, by repeated public advice and private admonitions, used our endeavors to dissuade the members of our religious society from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people, which, as we apprehended, so we now find, have increased contention and produced great discord and confusion.

The divine principle of grace and truth which we profess leads all who attend to its dictates to demean ourselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his government, to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appear to be calculated. We are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them, their spirit and temper, being not only contrary to the nature and principles of the gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society, disqualifying men in these times of difficulty for the wise and judicious consideration and promotion of such measures as would be most effectual for reconciling differences or obtaining the redress of grievances.

From our past experience of the clemency of the King and his royal ancestors, we have ground to hope and believe

that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued, which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional government, and so that liberty of conscience, for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas and of settling in the wilderness.

We, therefore, incited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of the country publicly declare against every usurpation of power and authority in the opposition of laws and government, and against the combinations, insurrections, conspiracies and illegal assemblies, and as we are restrained from them by conscientious discharge of our duty to Almighty God, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, we hope through His assistance and favor to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles and the fidelity we owe to the king and his government as by law established, earnestly desiring the restoration of that harmony and concord which have hitherto united the people of these provinces and been attended by the divine blessing on their labors.

If this address seems unnecessarily loyal, we have only to compare it with another issued six months later by the Continental Congress: "Attached as we are to your Majesty's person and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain with the strongest ties which can unite

societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we most ardently desire that the former happiness between her and these colonies may be restored," etc. In fact, at this stage of proceedings everybody, except a few of the most hot-headed, professed, most of them honestly, perfect loyalty. Events came to a crisis very rapidly immediately after this.

Notice also the following letter, signed by a great fighter, and representing the views of a military company:

Chester County, September 25th, 1775.

Whereas, some persons, evidently inimical to the liberty of America, have industriously propagated a report that the military associations of this county, in conjunction with the military associations in general, intend to overturn the Constitution by declaring an independency, in connection with which they are aided by this committee and the board of commissioners and assessors with the arms now making for this county, and as such a report could not originate but among the worst of men, for the worst of purposes, this committee have, therefore, thought proper to declare, and they do hereby declare, their abhorrence even of an idea so pernicious in its nature, as they ardently wish for nothing more than a happy and speedy reconciliation, on constitutional principles, with that state from whom they derive their origin.

By order of the Committee,

ANTHONY WAYNE, Chairman.

Dr. Fothergill gives them the following advice, wise from their standpoint:

"We need not suggest the necessity Friends are under on your side, to act with the greatest circumspection, neither to incline so far to the fiery popular side which like many amongst us led by those unfit directors, Pride and Passion, would sacrifice every substantial benefit in life, nor on the other hand, lean so much to the inflated vapors of arbitrary dictates as to yield assent to its encroachments on everything that is valuable to mankind." "I think it will be your greatest safety and wisdom to keep close to one another—neither to relax your care one over another, nor lean to the violent, nor to join the obsequious. For all in this life is at stake, life, liberty and property." "If America relaxes both you and we are all undone. I wish Friends would studiously avoid everything adverse either to administration here on one side or Congress on the other. Submission to the prevailing power must be your duty. The prevailing power is the general voice of America." "Mind your own business, and neither court unworthily the favor of your superiors on this side, nor oppose with vehemence the party which steps forward in the protection of your liberties, which are all at stake."

Dr. Fothergill was more American than the conservative American Friends themselves.

It would probably have been wiser, in the light of subsequent events, had they adopted his policy, alike dignified and liberal. They, however, had a testimony which they felt they must bear against revolution, and allowed an estrangement to grow up against the liberal party, based not only on war, but also on the unhealthy means



used to inflame the people. It must also be remembered that at this time even the popular leaders were expecting some other solution of the difficulty than war and independence.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The efforts of the peace men on both sides of the Atlantic were futile. The British pursued their policy of foolish consistency, determined to force the taxes down American throats. Lexington and Concord were fought, and a tremor of sympathetic response ran down and up the Atlantic coast. The continent set itself to learn the art of war to defend its liberties. While conservative people still hoped for an accommodation, the youth and the vigor of America felt that war was at hand, and began to prepare for it.

James Pemberton writes to Dr. Fothergill :

Philadelphia, Fifth month 6th, 1775.

Dear Friend:

The account lately received of the proceedings of Parliament on American affairs, and the intention of sending a further armament to Boston, have raised such a resentment in the colonies that the people are become more than ever united in a determination to defend their liberties by resistance. Surprising it is that the administration should persist in enforcing measures which must evidently tend to increase our calamities and threaten ruin to both countries. It is too sorrowful and arduous a task to describe our present situation; a military spirit prevails, the people are taken off from employment, intent on instructing

themselves in the art of war, and many younger members of our Society are daily joining with them, so that the distresses of this province are hastening fast; but when we consider the still more calamitous state of Boston, it not only excites the greatest compassion but brings into view the most gloomy prospect of future lamentable consequences, unless some unforeseen interposition of Providence should avert the storm.

When the M——y receive account of the late military action near Boston they must be convinced that the New England men will fight; a vein of blood is now opened, how far it may be permitted to extend we must leave. Although the accounts so far received of the transaction are somewhat imperfect, yet it is generally agreed that the king's troops are the aggressors, and narrowly escaped being wholly cut off; by last advices the town of Boston was surrounded by an army of 20,000, and though the vessels of war intercept all provisions sent there from the Southern colonies, it is said they may be supplied by land from Connecticut.

Since I began this letter I have received thy acceptable letters by our mutual friend, Dr. Franklin, whose seasonable, unexpected return among us has dispensed general pleasure among all classes of people, hoping some good effect at this very critical time from his experience and cool judgment. The Congress meets on the 10th inst.

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Amidst these agitations it appears most prudent and safe for Friends to remain quiet. The minds of the people are too inflamed for any interposition by us to be useful.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your administration must soon be convinced of their mistaken policy in the management of this unhappy contest. They may be assured the non-importation will be strictly observed, and it is expected all mercantile trade will be stopped by the Congress, so that the favor intended for New York, Nantucket, etc., will avail them nothing, nor will any other than the most lenient measures stop the ef-

fusion of blood and an increase of calamity to our and your country.

The return of Franklin did not prove so calming as Pemberton had hoped, for, throwing aside his wonted moderation, he plunged with vigor into the movement for armed resistance and independence.

Fothergill replies, three months later :

I will not fill up this letter with forebodings to America first, and then to the whole empire of Great Britain. It is more than probable we shall never subdue you (when I say we I mean those above), but we shall struggle hard and run the risk of sending ourselves to the bottom if you are first plunged there. Fatal, fatal error! The revenge of a few discontented officials: what dreadful havoc it will make. But it is indeed, to you first and next to us, a time of great sifting, and those who look forward, even amongst us, can not but be alarmed for the public safety. You, our brethren as a Society, I lament every day. Oh! that the weight of Sacred Wisdom may press all to that foundation on which alone they may stand securely, and extend a hand of help to those who are in danger of drifting with the tide of confusion till they perish.

And again a little later :

Be it known, that many amongst us deeply sympathize with you under your afflicted situation. America has nothing to expect henceforth but severity. If one might reason upon the righteousness of a cause by the temper of those who are engaged in it, ours can not be a good one. I believe there is no scheme however contrary to the principles of religion and humanity that should be offered as likely to subdue America that would not be adopted.



In the meantime the Meeting for Sufferings was attending to the general interests of the Society. They first addressed their members to be liberal in raising money for the sufferers in New England:

To our friends and brethren of the several meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey:

Dear Friends.—The afflictions and distresses attending the inhabitants of Massachusetts and other parts of New England have often engaged our pity and commiseration, with a desire to be instrumental for their relief as favorable opportunities should offer, and having more particular information since the yearly meeting, held last month at Rhode Island, than we before had of the situation of our brethren and others in those parts, since which the deprivations of War have greatly increased, we are united by a spirit of sympathy and Christian tenderness to recommend to your serious and benevolent consideration the sorrowful calamities now prevailing among those people, earnestly desiring that we may encourage each other freely to contribute to the relief of the necessities of every religious denomination; to promote which we have agreed upon, and herewith send you printed subscription papers requesting that some suitable active Friends may be appointed in each of your monthly and preparative meetings to apply for the donations of Friends for this charitable purpose.

A little later they forwarded to the Pennsylvania Assembly, a long address, recounting the privileges belonging to all inhabitants of the Province as the result of Penn's liberal charter, and asking that those liberties, especially liberty

of conscience, be secured to all in the perilous times which were evidently at hand.

We have a just sense of the value of our religious and civil liberties, and have ever been and are desirous of preserving them by all such measures as are not inconsistent with our Christian profession and principles, and though we believe it to be our duty to submit to the powers which in the course of Divine Providence are set over us, where there hath been or is any oppression or cause of suffering, we are engaged with Christian meekness and firmness to petition and remonstrate against it, and to endeavor by just reasoning and arguments to assert our rights and privileges in order to obtain relief.

We, therefore, earnestly entreat you carefully to guard against any proposal or attempt to deprive us and others of the full enjoyment of liberty of conscience, and that the solemn assurance given us in the charter that we shall not be obliged to do or suffer any act or thing contrary to our religious persuasion may not be infringed: the power of judging respecting our sincerity belongeth only to the Lord of our consciences, and we hope in a province heretofore remarkable for the preservation of religious and civil liberty, the representatives of the people will still be conscientiously careful that it may remain inviolate.

We firmly desire that the most conciliatory measure for removing the impending calamities, and for restoring peace to the colonies in general, may be pursued, and that all such may be avoided as are likely to widen or perpetuate the breach with our parent state, or tend to introduce persecution or suffering among us.

Furthermore, on First month 20th, 1776, they issued a general address to define their position. This afterwards gave great offence to the revolutionary party. It was an open statement of their opposition to extreme measures, and was no

doubt intended to influence any who were within reach of their influence to avoid joining with them. The Germans had sent delegations to Philadelphia to find out how their friends, the Quakers, with whom they had been politically allied ever since they had been in the Province, intended to act in the emergency. Many young Friends had joined the military companies, and many more, of all ages, undoubtedly sympathized with the American cause. Apparently these older Friends, whose weight ruled the official organizations, were not ready to throw off their ancient allegiance, and their voice was still for peace, remonstrance and submission.

The ancient testimony and principles of the people called Quakers, renewed with respect to the king and government, and touching the commotions now prevailing in these and other parts of America, addressed to the people in general.

A religious concern for Friends and fellow subjects of every denomination, and more especially for those of all ranks who in the present commotions are engaged in public employments and stations, induces us earnestly to beseech every individual in the most solemn manner to consider the end and tendency of the measures they are promoting, and on the most impartial inquiry into the state of their minds, carefully to examine whether they are acting in the fear of God and in conformity to the precepts and doctrines of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we profess to believe in, and by whom alone we expect to be saved from our sins.

The inhabitants of these provinces were long signally favored with peace and plenty. Have the returns of true

thankfulness been generally manifest? Have integrity and godly simplicity been maintained and religiously guarded? Have a religious care to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly, been evident? Hath the precept of Christ to do unto others as we would they should do to us been the governing rule of our conduct? Hath an upright, impartial desire to prevent the slavery and oppression of our fellow-men, and to restore them to their natural right, to true Christian liberty, been cherished and encouraged? Or have pride, wantonness, luxury and profaneness, a partial spirit, and forgetfulness of the goodness and mercies of God, become lamentably prevalent? Have we not therefore abundant occasion to break off from our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, and with true contrition and abasement of soul to humble ourselves and supplicate the Almighty Preserver of men to show favor, and to renew unto us a state of tranquility and peace?

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We are so fully assured that these principles are the most certain and effectual means of preventing the extreme misery and desolations of wars and bloodshed that we are constrained to entreat all who profess faith in Christ, to manifest that they really believe in Him and desire to obtain the blessing He promised to the makers of peace.

This spirit ever leads for and seeks to improve every opportunity of promoting peace and reconciliation, and constantly to remember that as we really confide in Him, He can in His own time change the hearts of all men in such manner, that the way to obtain it can often be opened contrary to every human prospect or expectation.

May we therefore heartily and sincerely unite in supplication to the Father of Mercies, to grant the plentiful effusions of his spirit to all, and in an especial manner to those in superior stations that they may with sincerity guard against, and reject all such measures and councils as may increase and perpetuate discord, animosities and unhappy conditions which now sorrowfully abound.

The peculiar evidence of divine regard manifested to our



ancestors in the founding and settlement of these provinces, we have often commemorated, and desire ever to remember with true thankfulness and reverent admiration.

When we consider that at the time they were persecuted and subjected to severe sufferings as a people unworthy of the benefits of religious or civil society, the hearts of the kings and rulers under whom they thus suffered were inclined to grant them these fruitful lands, and entrust them with charters of very extensive powers and privileges; that on their arrival here the minds of the natives were inclined to receive them with great hospitality and friendship, and to cede to them the most valuable part of their land on very easy terms; that while the principles of justice and mercy continued to preside they were preserved in tranquility and peace free from the desolating calamities of war, and their endeavors were wonderfully blessed and prospered, so that the saying of the wisest king was signally verified to them, "When a man's ways please the Lord he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

The benefits, advantages and favors we have experienced from our dependence and connection with the kings and government, under which we have enjoyed this happy state, appear to us to demand the greatest circumspection, care and constant endeavors to guard against every attempt to alter or subvert that dependence or connection.

The scenes lately presented to our view, and the prospect before us, we are sensible are very distressing and discouraging; and though we lament that such amicable measures as have been proposed, both here and in England, for the adjustment of the unhappy contests subsisting, have not yet been effectual, nevertheless we should rejoice to observe the continuance of mutual peaceable endeavors for effecting a reconciliation, having grounds to hope the divine favor and blessing will attend them.

"It hath ever been our judgment and principle, since we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus manifested in our consciences unto this day that the setting up and putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar pre-

rogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our business to have any hand or continuance therein, nor to be busybodies above our station, much less to plot or contrive the ruin or overthrow of any of them, but to pray for the king and for the safety of our nation, and the good of all men; that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us."—Ancient Testimony, 1696, in Sewel's History.

May we therefore firmly unite in the abhorrence of all such writings and measures, as evidence a design to break off the happy connection we have heretofore enjoyed with the kingdom of Great Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the king and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him, that thus the repeated solemn declarations made on this subject in the addresses sent to the king, on the behalf of the people of America in general, may be confirmed, and remain to be our firm and sincere intentions to observe and fulfill.

JOHN PEMBERTON, Clerk.

When the reports from the various Quarterly Meetings came up to the Yearly Meeting in the fall of 1775, it was evident that a large number had already violated the pacific principles of their Society. The clerk summarized the reports :

All the accounts except that from Shrewsbury lament the sorrowful deviation which has lately appeared in many members from our peaceable profession and principles in joining with the multitude in warlike exercise, and instructing themselves in the art of war which has occasioned painful labor to the faithful among us whose care has been extended to advise and admonish those who are concerned therein.

The Yearly Meeting therefore advised as follows :

We have taken under weighty consideration the sorrowful account given of the public deviation of many professors of the truth among us from our ancient testimony against war, and being favored in our deliberations on this affecting subject with the calming influences of that love which desires and seeks for their conviction of their error and restoration, in order that our union and fellowship may be preserved, and a faithful testimony maintained to the excellency of the Gospel dispensation which breathes "Peace on earth and good will to men," it is our united concern and desire that faithful friends in their respective meetings may speedily and earnestly labor in the strength of this love for the reclaiming of those who have thus deviated, and where it is necessary that Quarterly Meetings should appoint suitable friends to join their assistance in the performance of this weighty service, and where such brotherly labor is so slighted and disregarded, that by persisting in this violation, they manifest that they are not convinced of our Christian principles, or are actuated by a spirit and temper in opposition thereto, it is our duty to testify our disunion with them.

And we also desire that all friends in this time of close probation would be careful in no part of their conduct to manifest an approbation or countenance to such things as are obviously contrary to our peaceable profession and principles, either as spectators or otherwise, at the same time avoiding to give just occasion of offence to any who do not make religious profession with us, manifesting that we are actuated solely by a conscientious principle and Christian spirit, agreeable to the repeated cautions and advice heretofore given forth by this meeting, our meeting for sufferings and the epistles from our brethren in Great Britain since the commencement of the troubles which have lately arisen, and continue to prevail in these colonies.

Many friends have expressed that a religious objection

is raised in their minds against receiving or paying certain paper bills of credit lately issued expressly for the purpose of carrying on war, apprehending that it is a duty required of them to guard carefully against contributing thereto in any manner.

We therefore fervently desire that such who are not convinced that it is their duty to refuse those bills, may be watchful over their own spirits, and abide in true love and charity so that no expressions or conduct tending to the oppression of tender consciences may appear among us; and we likewise affectionately exhort those who have this religious scruple that they do not admit nor indulge censure in their minds against their brethren who have not the same, carefully manifesting by the whole tenor of their conduct that nothing is done through strife or contention, but that they act from the clear convictions of truth in their own minds, showing forth by their meekness, humility and patient suffering that they are the followers of the Prince of Peace.

The attitude taken by the Friends whose voices controlled the official conclusions of the body seems, as nearly as can be ascertained, to have been as follows: "We did not approve the proceedings of the British ministry, which irritated the Americans; we thought them ill-advised, and, in view of their certain effects, wicked; we would have joined with our fellow-citizens in peaceful legal resistance to them and have suffered, as we have proven we are able to suffer, for the principles of liberty and justice. But we do not believe in revolutions, and we do not believe in war; we will not be a party to overturning the



beneficent charter of William Penn, nor will we aid in throwing off our ultimate allegiance to the king of Great Britain. We, who largely made this Province what it is, and who have shown in the past our capacity for the peaceful maintenance of rights, are utterly opposed to the measures now taken, and disavow all responsibility for them. We cannot take any part in the war, on one side or the other; we cannot recognize the revolutionary government, set up by illegal means, by holding office under it or by affirming allegiance to it; nor will we assist Britain in the unrighteous means taken to conquer rebellious Provinces; we are out of the whole business, and will give aid and comfort to neither party." In one sense they were loyalists, and it is quite probable that the personal sympathies of many of them were with the British cause. But they were innocuous loyalists; they were neither spies on American movements nor did they flee for protection to British headquarters. They remained in their houses, asked to be considered as neutrals, and to have nothing to do with the "commotions" (a favorite word with them) existing. Something like this seems to have been the position taken by the meetings in their collective capacity, and this they undertook by

all ecclesiastical means to enforce on their membership.

This was, however, no easy task. There were a few active British abettors. They were promptly disowned. There were a great many who joined heartily with the American cause; and they shared the same fate. The monthly meetings were very busy during the whole period of the war in the proceedings against Friends who were unfaithful to their principles. At least one hundred and forty were "dealt with" and "disowned" by two monthly meetings in the city of Philadelphia. The causes given were various:—"Assuming a military appearance"; "Associating with others in training and exercising to learn the art of war"; "Acting as soldiers in the American army"; "Making a voyage in a ship of war, fitted out from this place, in the course of which he had been concerned in seizing and taking away from English subjects their property"; "Taking money for warlike services of slaves"; "Joining the British army"\*; "Joining the American army, and attending a play"; "Accepting offices in the American army"; "Associating in warlike exercise, and

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\* One case only, so far as known.

accepting an employment to build a fort in South Carolina ” ; “ Fitting out a vessel for trade, provided to repel in a warlike way any attack which might be made upon it, which has been attended with sorrowful consequences in shedding human blood and loss of life ” ; “ Being concerned with others in carrying on a trade in the river Delaware with a vessel fitted in a warlike manner ” ; “ Fitting out an armed vessel, which may prove the cause of shedding human blood ” ; “ Paying fines in lieu of personal military service ” ; “ Purposely placing money before a person who was about seizing his effects to satisfy a fine imposed on him in lieu of military service ” ; “ Dealing in prize goods, and fighting in the public streets ” ; “ Making weapons of war formed for the destruction of his fellow-men ” ; “ Associating with others to encourage informations and accusations against such fellow-citizens as, through the heats and animosities subsisting, were become the objects of party resentment, and by serving as a jurymen in the trial and condemnation of a fellow-member in religious profession, who suffered death in this city under a law which appears to us adapted to the views and temper of men actuated by the spirit of war rather than founded on true

justice and the principles of Christianity"; "Uniting himself by a test or declaration of allegiance to one of the contending parties now at war"; "Taking a test of allegiance to one and an abjuration of the other of the contending parties now at war"; "Enlisting as an artificer in a military employ"; "Being in an engagement where many were slain"; "Holding a commission for furnishing supplies to one of the parties engaged in strife and war"; "Engaging in military employment on board a ship of war"; "Appearing with arms, and assisting in taking several persons from their dwellings in a warlike manner"; "Purchasing a horse that was taken as a prize"; "Assisting in laying a tax for military purposes"; "Countenancing the fine gatherers by taking some receipts which had been given for forage taken by the army in lieu of personal military service"; "Offering duplicates in order for the collection of taxes, part of which is a fine for not taking the test (so-called)"; "Countenancing the payment of a demand for the releasing of his cow that was seized for a substitute fine"; "Selling prize rum which his son got by privateering"; "Paying a fine for refusing to collect taxes for military purposes"; "Meeting militia on mus-



ter days"; "Paying taxes for hiring men to go to war."

The difficulty was greatest in 1775 when war first broke out. The monthly meetings reported in many cases in substance as follows :

A sorrowful defection lately appears in a number of our young people who, disregarding our ancient testimony and the peaceable spirit of the Gospel, have in the present time of outward commotion associated with others in training to learn the military exercises. Their cases are mostly under care.

One of the first cases taken up was Thomas Mifflin's. In March, 1775, he was reported to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia "for joining with and promoting measures pursued by the people for arresting their civil privileges in such a manner as is inconsistent with our peaceable profession and principles." Four months later, when judgment was reached, he had added other causes. He was aide-de-camp to General Washington, and the meeting testified:

Thomas Mifflin, of this city, merchant, who hath professed to be a member of our religious Society, having for a considerable time past been active in the promotion of military measures, it became our concern and care to endeavor to convince him of the inconsistency of his conduct with our peaceable principles, but he declaring himself not convinced of our Christian testimony against wars and fighting, and persisting therein, whereby he hath separated himself from religious fellowship with us, we are under

a necessity to declare that we cannot esteem him to be a member of our religious society until by the illumination of Divine Grace he is further convinced and becomes desirous of being truly united in religious fellowship with us, to which state we desire he may attain.

These hopes were never fulfilled. Mifflin served with distinction on Long Island and at Trenton, and became Major-General in 1777. In 1788 he was made President of Pennsylvania, and was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. From 1790 to 1799 he was Governor of Pennsylvania. Except for a loss of prestige arising from his supposed sympathy with Conway's Cabal he had a distinguished career, which, however, showed but little trace of his Quaker education.

As in this case, the assumption usually was that the offender against the rules of Society had separated himself by his own actions, and the minute was simply a public record of the fact, coupled with a hope for his future restoration.

There were the usual number of other offences, moral and ecclesiastical, which also had to be attended to, so that the diminution in numbers between 1775 and 1781 must have been considerable, and the sufferers being mainly young men, the loss to the future was serious. Some of them became penitent and returned, making

due acknowledgments, in years to come, but many were permanently lost.

It was undoubtedly a serious matter to be banned in this way. There was not in those days the easy passage from sect to sect we now have, and the marked peculiarities of the Friends in beliefs and customs, many of which they would adhere to after disownment, made them feel as strangers in any other church habitation. When the war was over they would naturally look back longingly to their old friends, to whom they were drawn by many intellectual and social ties.

In addition, the question of slavery was being now forced to an issue with the individual members. While the Revolutionary War was raging the last slaves were disappearing among Friends. After years of advice and entreaty, which had been largely successful, the yearly meeting had concluded, in 1776, to force the issue with the few remaining slave-holders. They had wilfully stood out against the prolonged labors of their friends and the directions of their meetings, and one by one their cases were considered and they, if still obdurate, disowned. Hence we find such minutes as this almost the last on record :

In the course of our labors for restoring the oppressed negroes to the possession of that liberty to which they are entitled equally with ourselves, and which we are fully sensible is their just due agreeable to the conclusion of our Yearly Meeting, it became our concern to treat with—— on account of a negro woman which he persists to retain in thralldom in order to make him sensible of the duty which is incumbent on him to restore her to that natural right of freedom which through the prevalence of unrighteous custom she has hitherto been deprived of, but our repeated labors of love not availing, and he continuing to withhold from her her just right from a mistaken apprehension that it is more for her advantage as well as for her own security that she should remain in subjection to him, after long and repeated treating with him on this important subject we find ourselves constrained on the behalf of truth and justice to declare that we cannot hold the said —— in religious fellowship with us until he consents to restore the said negro woman to her just and natural right which we must desire for his own sake (as his time in this world cannot be long), and also for the reputation of truth he may speedily be induced to do.

The Yearly Meeting could report, in the fall of 1776 :

That labor has been extended to such who have violated our Christian testimony against war, by associating to exercise and learn the use of warlike weapons, many of whom have been declared to have separated themselves from religious fellowship with us, and others in this practice are under the care and dealing of the respective Monthly Meetings.

In 1776 the Yearly Meeting sent out some general advices :

Being by the continued mercy of the Almighty Preserver of men favored with another opportunity of meeting to-



gether in peace and quietness, our minds are impressed with reverent thankfulness to him, (and) engaged in much brotherly love and sympathy to salute you; earnestly desiring that, in this time of affliction and adversity, we may be fervently concerned to improve so great a blessing with humble and thankful hearts, and to manifest our constant care for the building up each other in that faith which works by love.

Under this exercise, we are constrained to entreat and exhort all to keep near to the divine principle which will lead us from the love of the world, its spirits and maxims, into a life of self-denial and humility, in conformity to the precepts and example of our Lord Jesus Christ by whom we are taught that wrath, contention, wars and fighting are unlawful, and that meekness, patience and universal love to mankind will be rewarded with peace, passing the understanding of the carnal mind which is not subject to the law of God, and in which those who abide, cannot please him.

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And, dear friends, as we profess to be followers of the Prince of Peace, and our principles have led us to declare, that we place no confidence nor dependence in the arm of flesh, we earnestly exhort each individual to cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of? And as deep trials, sufferings and revilings may be permitted to come upon us, let us bear the rod and him who hath appointed it, and not seek for or expect deliverance by the hand of man, but endeavor to get into that humble, meek, quiet, peaceable spirit, which beareth all things, and when it is reviled, revileth not again, but suffereth patiently; and have our eye single to Christ, the Captain of our salvation, who is alone able to work deliverance for us in his own time.

Under the affliction and sorrow we painfully feel for the deviation of some, who have made profession with us, from our peaceable principles, we have renewed cause with thankfulness to acknowledge that a large number of hopeful youth, appear united with us in a living concern for the

cause and testimony of truth, and the keeping to the good order of that excellent discipline which our ancestors were enabled to establish, and which as it is rightly administered, we have found to be as a hedge about us. We fervently desire all such may be strengthened and confirmed in holy resolutions to wait for that wisdom which is profitable to direct in the maintaining of it, over all backsliders and transgressors, who after being treated with in the spirit of meekness, cannot be reclaimed.

Many seasonable admonitions, exhortations and cautions suitable to the circumstances of these perilous times, having been given forth by our brethren in G. Britain last year and since by our Meeting for Sufferings, we affectionately recommend to the renewed consideration of them and of the minutes of this meeting last year. As the lust of worldly honor and power hath been productive of the calamities and distresses to which we are now subjected, we are incited by a sincere concern for the welfare of our brethren, and their prosperity in the truth, to intreat them, during the present commotions and unsettled state of affairs, to decline from having any share in the authority and powers of government; and to circumscribe themselves within plain and narrow bounds, it being our united sense and judgment that none of our brethren in religious profession should be concerned in electing or being elected to public places of honor, trust or profit, believing that such who disregard our counsel and advice herein, are in danger of being ensnared and suffering loss, and may become instruments of misleading others from that quiet and peaceable life we should endeavor to lead in Godliness and honesty agreeable to the exhortation of the apostle.

And as the distresses of many in divers parts of this continent are now very great and daily increasing, we earnestly recommend to friends in general, and particularly to those who have received the increase of earthly possessions, to be religiously careful to avoid all unnecessary expenses, and to be ready to distribute and communicate towards the relief of their suffering brethren, not only of our own, but to every other society and denomination; and that a spirit

of benevolence and true charity with a desire and care to be faithful stewards of the manifold blessings and favors conferred upon us, may increase and prevail among us.

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And as our forefathers were often led to commemorate the many instances of divine favor conferred upon them through the difficulties they encountered in settling in the wilderness, let us be like minded with them, and if after a long time of enjoying the fruits of their labors and partaking of the blessings of peace and plenty we should be restrained or deprived of some of our rights and privileges, let us carefully guard against being drawn into the vindication of them, and seeking redress by any measures which are not consistent with our religious profession and principles nor with the Christian patience manifested by our ancestors in such times of trial; and we fervently desire all may impartially consider whether we have manifested that firmness in our love to the cause of truth and universal righteousness which is required of us, and that we may unite in holy resolutions to seek the Lord in sincerity and to wait upon him daily for wisdom to order our conduct hereafter in all things to his praise.

And beloved friends, we beseech you in brotherly affection, to remember that as under divine providence we are indebted to the king and his royal ancestors for the continued favor of enjoying our religious liberty, we are under deep obligations to manifest our loyalty and fidelity, and that we should discourage every attempt which may be made by any to excite disaffection or disrespect to him, and particularly to manifest our dislike to all such writings as are or may be published of that tendency.

And as it hath ever been our practice since we were a people to advise all professing with us to be careful not to defraud the king of his customs and duties nor to be concerned in dealing in goods unlawfully imported, we find it necessary now most earnestly to exhort that the same care may be continued with faithfulness and diligence, and that friends keep clear of purchasing any such goods either

for sale or private use; that so we may not be in any way instrumental in countenancing or promoting the iniquity, false swearing and violence which are the common consequences of an unlawful and clandestine trade.

The Meeting for Sufferings, under date of Twelfth month 20th, 1776, issued an address to Friends, upon which serious charges of disaffection to the American cause were afterwards based, resulting disastrously to a number of important members. The old Constitution of Penn had first been annulled, and the advice was practically to disobey the new one, under authority of which subscription to tests of allegiance was demanded. It would have been most remarkable had the government passed over such an issue.

Thus we may with Christian firmness withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men, who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by other assistance, to join in carrying on war and of prescribing modes of determining concerning our religious principles, by imposing tests not warranted by the precepts of Christ, or the laws of the happy constitution under which we and others long enjoyed tranquility and peace.

The issue was definitely joined. By all the authority possessed by the representative bodies, Friends were admonished not only to avoid taking up arms, but also not to recognize the gov-



ernment formed on the ruins of the old charter, by accepting any office under it or making any promises of allegiance to it. We are now sure that this refusal was based on conscientious objections to being forced to declare themselves by a power, the legality of which they were not willing to accept, and was unaccompanied by any treasonable connection with the British army. These facts must have been known by some of the Pennsylvanians, but hardly by other members of the Continental Congress, and it is not to be wondered at that the leaders of Friends were classed with the dangerous Tories and treated accordingly.

The meetings, however, so far as appears from their minutes, were practically agreed on this policy, and Philadelphia Monthly Meeting was able to report in 1777, "We hope love and unity are on the increase among us."

The country meetings did not fail to respond to the action of their Philadelphia brethren. Chester Monthly Meeting, which embraced the larger part of what is now Delaware County, which afterwards lost about seventy members by disownment for military or political offences during the war, agreed to carry out the policy

in its entirety. In 1775 they adopted this advice :

An epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings was read, containing some good advice respecting the present situation of public affairs, and a testimony from said meeting against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies and illegal assemblies; which this meeting taking with solid consideration doth conclude that all members belonging to this meeting that do in any measure countenance or abet anything contrary to our religious principles ought speedily to be treated with by overseers and preparative meetings.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE VIRGINIA EXILES.

Late in 1776 the war, which had hitherto been mainly confined to New England and New York, approached Philadelphia. "These are the times that try men's souls," wrote Thomas Paine. Washington, with the wreck of an army, retreated across Jersey, closely followed by the British under Sir William Howe.

In Philadelphia there was great excitement. Galloway and other loyalists joined the British. The roads leading from the city were crowded with fugitives seeking places of safety. The sick of Washington's army were brought into the city almost naked, and were lodged in the vacated houses. Every effort was made to arouse the spirit of resistance by accounts of the barbarities practised by the British troops in the march through the Jerseys. Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, adjourned to Baltimore.

The daring and successful night attack of Washington on the Hessians at Trenton, and his magnificent campaign following, when, with a raw and inefficient army, he outgeneraled

Howe and drove him back to New York, removed for a time the danger to the Quaker City. The American army hovered about between Philadelphia and New York during the early half of 1777, uncertain of the plans of the British general. On the 25th of August, he revealed his purpose by landing at Elk Ferry, in the Chesapeake, with the evident intention of attacking Philadelphia from the south. Washington marched through the city, making the best show he could with his poorly-armed and ragged troops, and on the 11th of September met the British army under Cornwallis, at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine. In this quiet farming country, settled almost exclusively by Friends, around the old Birmingham Meeting-House, was fought one of the bloodiest battles of the war. Washington was defeated by a flank attack, led by Cornwallis, who crossed the stream about five miles above the Ford, and met the American army hastily drawn up to face them at the meeting-house. The Americans lost 1,000 men, the British about half as many. The latter followed the retreating, but not demoralized, Americans to the Schuylkill. After two weeks' manœuvring Howe's army suc-





### BIRMINGHAM MEETING-HOUSE.

USED AS A HOSPITAL BY THE AMERICANS BEFORE AND THE BRITISH AFTER THE BATTLE

*Behind the Graveyard Wall on the Left the Americans Averted the Attack of the British.*



ceeded in crossing the stream, and on the 25th encamped at Germantown.

Congress departed in haste to Lancaster, and a detachment of British troops took possession of the city. The people, an old account states, generally "appeared sad and serious." This may be partly accounted for by the following minute of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting :

The 26th Day of the 9 month 1777 being the day in course for holding our monthly meeting a number of friends met when the present situation of things being considered and it appearing that the Kings Army are near entering the city, at which time it may be proper the inhabitants should generally be at their habitations, in order to preserve as much as possible peace and good order on this solemn occasion it is therefore proposed to adjourn the mo. mtg. &c.

The attack on Germantown, where the main body of the British were encamped, showed the world that the spirit of the Americans was not quelled. This was only temporarily successful, and the two armies settled down in winter quarters, Washington and his troops to endure the sufferings of Valley Forge, while Howe and his officers held high revel in Philadelphia; his men being comfortably quartered in the numerous unoccupied houses and stores. The capture of the forts on the Delaware made them largely independent of the neighboring country, where

foraging parties of the Americans greatly interfered with their supplies and a winter of gaiety and revelry followed. If the Friends had any disposition to look upon the king's troops on their entrance as settling their allegiance on a stronger basis, they changed their minds before the winter was over. Their influence hitherto had kept the city decorous and reasonably moral, and they were shocked at the laxity which now for the first time invaded the city of Penn. Drunken soldiers destroyed the quiet of the nights, cock-fighting and gambling were openly sanctioned by Sir William Howe, and the young Philadelphians, making common cause with the dissipated British officers, were ruined in morals and purses, while stage-plays and balls, club-meetings and horse-races, followed each other in rapid succession. It was a difficult time for the Friends, who were probably one-fifth of the population, and who were in general in fairly comfortable circumstances, to maintain their standards of living among their young men.

The probability of a French army of attack coming to America made the permanent occupation of Philadelphia impossible, and on the 18th of June, 1778, Sir Henry Clinton, who had superseded Howe, evacuated the city and marched



across Jersey. Washington promptly started in pursuit, fought the battles of Princeton and Monmouth, and had the satisfaction of accelerating the retreat and finally seeing the British army embark for New York city.

The out-and-out Tories left the city with the British. The Friends remained in their houses, as they had done when the invaders entered. They suffered from both parties—the most, however, from the Americans for their unwillingness to join in the national defence. Their policy was to remain quiet and take what came to them without giving military aid to either party or acting as spies upon either.

When the American army regained possession of the city it was placed in command of Benedict Arnold, who proceeded to enrich himself by confiscating the property of the Tories, and by his marriage with Peggy Shippen, the daughter of a prominent loyalist. The National and State Congresses resumed their sessions. Wild speculation and gross extravagance, to which the depreciated condition of the paper currency was a stimulus, pervaded the city. The State Government, under the new Constitution, was in the hands of new men, who did not receive the confidence of the more substantial people. The

town was full of desperate characters. Its beauty was destroyed, its trees cut down for firewood, its suburbs burned, its streets filthy, its houses denuded of furniture. There were the bitterest feelings against Tories of all grades, and two victims, of whom more presently, were hung to appease the popular fury. A mob which threatened to hang all Quakers, Tories and speculators was for a time in possession of the city. The "Constitutionalists," as the extreme revolutionists were called, resolved to drive out every vestige of loyalism. The college founded by Franklin—now the University of Pennsylvania—had its charter annulled, and a new one, supposed to be more favorable to the prevailing powers, was created in its place, which had only the effect of bringing into existence two rival weaklings and destroying the medical school, then just establishing its great history.

In this disturbed, unhealthy state, Philadelphia remained until the end of the war. It was no time for the Quakers to have anything to do with government, and they wisely refrained from making any attempt.

The city Friends had to bear the brunt of the trouble. Those in the country were disturbed by the actual passage of the armies and of forag-

ing parties in 1777 and 1778, but at other times they tilled their fields in personal security.

About one-fifth of the adult male Friends in Philadelphia had joined the American army, or taken places under the revolutionary government. A very small number had as openly espoused the cause of the King. The large majority, including the more representative Friends, with varying sympathies, had kept straight to the advice of their Yearly Meeting in favor of neutrality and non-participation. Dr. Fothergill wrote :

Be quiet and mind your own business; promote every good work. Show yourselves subject to that overruling Providence which guides all things for the good of that immortal part which is made to subsist not only after all these transient outrages are at an end but through endless ages.

When news arrived of the landing of the English army on the Chesapeake, Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, recommended :

That the Executive officers of the State of Pennsylvania be requested to cause all persons notoriously disaffected forthwith to be disarmed and secured until such time as they may be released without injury to the common cause. That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania to cause diligent search to be made in the houses of all inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, who have not manifested their attachment to the American cause, for firearms, swords, bayonets, etc.

Three days later they further advise :

That the several testimonies which have been published since the commencement of the present contest betwixt G. Britain and America, and the uniform tenor of the conduct, and conversation of a number of persons of considerable wealth, who profess themselves to belong to the society of people commonly called Quakers, render it certain and notorious that those persons are, with much rancor and bitterness, disaffected to the American cause; that, as these persons will have it in their power, so there is no doubt it will be their inclination, to communicate intelligence to the enemy, and, in various other ways, to injure the counsels and arms of America:

That when the enemy, in the month of December, 1776, were bending their progress towards the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication, addressed "To our friends and brethren in religious profession in these and the adjacent provinces," signed John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the meeting of sufferings held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 26th of the 12th month, 1776, was published, and, as your committee is credibly informed, circulated amongst many members of the society called Quakers, throughout the different states:

That, as the seditious paper aforesaid originated in the city of Philadelphia, and as the persons whose names are under-mentioned, have uniformly manifested a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, therefore,

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the supreme executive council of the state of Pennsylvania, forthwith to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen., Thomas Fisher, son of Joshua, and Samuel Fisher, son of Joshua, together with all such papers in their possession as may be of a political nature.

And whereas, there is strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence and connexion



highly prejudicial to the public safety, not only in this state but in the several states of America.

Resolved. That it be recommended to the executive powers of the respective states, forthwith to apprehend and secure all persons, as well among the people called Quakers as others, who have, in their general conduct and conversation, evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America; and that the persons so seized, be confined in such places, and treated in such manner, as shall be consistent with their respective characters and security of their persons:

That the records and papers of the meetings of sufferings in the respective states be forthwith secured and carefully examined, and that such parts of them as may be of a political nature, be forthwith transmitted to Congress.

Under cover of these resolutions the Council proceeded to arrest about forty people, more for the purpose of striking terror into British sympathizers than anything else. There was no trial, or even hearing. They were merely hurried into confinement, their houses searched, their desks broken open in a search for compromising papers, and a parole, including a promise to remain in their houses demanded of them. Some of them gave it, others, including all the Quakers, refused.

The authorities, therefore, had on their hands a company of about twenty people of irreproachable character, highly respected in all the relations of private life, against whom no definite charges could be preferred, but who refused even

to promise good behavior if allowed to remain at their homes. They said they had committed no offences, and that it was an outrage to throw citizens into jail without a charge, and present a test to them, as if they had ever been guilty of misconduct, and could be suspected for the future.

There was undoubtedly considerable popular outcry against them, due in part to general suspicions, in part to the epistles of the meetings, more especially that of the Meeting for Sufferings, the objectionable paragraph of which has already been given in a previous page, and in part to the publication of a curious paper said to have been captured by General Sullivan on Staten Island with the British baggage, which was considered evidence of treasonable correspondence with the enemy.

This paper began with eight questions relating to the position of the American troops, and under the head of "Information from Jersey, 19 August, 1777," gave as a partial answer to them :

It is said General Howe landed near the head of Chesapeake Bay but can not learn the particular spot or when.

Washington lays in Pennsylvania about twelve miles from Coryell's Ferry.

Sullivan lays about six miles north of Morristown with about 2,000 men.

Spanktown Yearly Meeting.

Then, in a postscript dated nine days later, was added information of the southward march of the various divisions of the army, with the number of each.

The only circumstance connecting the Quakers with the matter was the subscription "Spanktown Yearly Meeting." There was, of course, no such yearly meeting, but Spanktown was a name sometimes applied to Rahway, where there was a Quarterly Meeting. The absurdity of an organized meeting being engaged in spying out the proceedings of the American army and signing its name did not save the report from receiving considerable credence. It was quickly pointed out that the 19th of August was several days before the landing, as was also the 22d, the date of the capture by Sullivan, and that the signature of a mythical yearly meeting to an otherwise unrecognizable letter was no proof of Quaker origin. Indeed, so far as the authorities were concerned, after a little investigation the matter was apparently allowed to drop, and the charges were based on the general belief in the English sympathies of the prisoners and the de-

liverances of the meetings. Spanktown, however, had a prominent place in the ephemeral literature of the day, and the incident undoubtedly intensified the anti-Quaker feeling of the people, who apparently believed that every Quaker meeting was a centre of treasonable plotting and correspondence.

The searching of the prisoners' desks produced nothing except the minutes of the meetings, which were taken and printed by order of Congress and were with some difficulty regained. They contained only what the reader has already seen—nothing more compromising than the general advice to take no part in the revolution. There were no evidences of correspondence with the enemy, and we must believe James Pemberton when he writes to Robert Morris from Virginia :

I can with much firmness and truth assert my innocence of having given any occasion for the hard treatment I have received from this unnatural banishment. . . . From a mind conscious of integrity and innocence I can unreservedly declare that I have never had at any time the least correspondence with General Howe or any British commander or others concerned in the military operations against America nor do I intend to have; I hope my general conduct and conversation have evidenced me a friend to mankind and my country, and I am restrained from a pure principle of conscience in doing anything to promote contention, war & bloodshed among men whose universal welfare I much desire.



The prisoners were allowed to receive their friends with great freedom, and made the most use of their few days of captivity to remonstrate on all sides against their arrest. The first protest was addressed to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, by whose order they were imprisoned: "We are advised, and from our own knowledge of our rights and privileges as freemen are assured, that your issuing of this order is arbitrary, unjust and illegal, and therefore we believe it is our duty, in clear and express terms, to remonstrate against it." A more lengthy and formal protest, signed by all the prisoners, followed a little later, ending with the paragraphs:

In the name therefore of the whole body of the freemen of Pennsylvania, whose liberties are radically struck at, by this arbitrary imprisonment of us their unoffending fellow citizens we demand an audience that so our innocence may appear and persecution give place to justice.

But if regardless of every sacred obligation by which men are bound to each other in society, and by that Constitution by which you profess to govern, which you have so loudly magnified for the free spirit it breathes you are still determined to proceed, be the appeal to the righteous people of all the earth for the integrity of our hearts and the unparalleled tyranny of your measures.

These papers produced no effect on the Council, even to the extent of granting a public hearing, so the prisoners addressed Congress in a similar vein, asseverating their innocence of any

treasonable actions, their unshaken conviction that all wars are unlawful for Christians, and a willingness to suffer anything in support of this testimony.

Following this they issued a printed "Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," in which they recapitulated the history of their arrest and detention :

But a few days since the scene opened and we the subscribers were called upon by persons, not known as public officers of justice to put our names to a paper "promising not to depart from our dwelling houses, and to be ready to appear on the demand of the President and Council of the State of Pennsylvania and to engage to refrain from doing anything injurious to the United free states of North America by speaking, writing or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the commander of the British forces, or any other person whatever concerning public affairs."

Conscious of our innocence in respect to the charges insinuated in this paper against us, and unwilling to part with the liberty of breathing the free air, and following our lawful business beyond the narrow limits of our houses, disclaiming to be considered in so odious a light as men who by crimes had forfeited our common and inherent rights, we refused to become voluntary prisoners and rejected the proposal.

The Council's answer to these various appeals was to resolve :

That such of the persons now confined in the Lodge as shall take & subscribe the oath or affirmation ..... to wit:

"I do swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State" shall be discharged.

To this suggestion they replied :

If you had a right to make such a proposition we think it very improper to be made to men in our situation. You have first deprived us of our liberty on one pretence which finding you are not able to justify you waive and require of us as a condition of our enlargement that we should confess ourselves men of suspicious characters by doing what ought not to be expected by innocent persons.

After another solemn declaration of innocence, signed alike by Friends and Episcopalians, of any correspondence with the British forces, they could do nothing more than to accept the decision of the Council, which was:

That the persons whose names are mentioned above be without further delay removed to Staunton in Virginia there to be treated according to their characters and stations so far as may be consistent with the security of their persons.

With the exception of the substitution of Winchester for Staunton, this sentence was carried out, notwithstanding that a writ of habeas corpus was allowed by Chief Justice McKean, which the State authorities chose to disregard.

The whole proceeding was, of course, grossly illegal, but Sir William Howe and his army were approaching the city, and the measure was justified in the opinion of Congress and the Council by military necessity.

It is difficult to see what was gained. The

arrest certainly did not conciliate or intimidate other Quakers; it did not interfere in the slightest degree with the plans of the British. It did please the enemies of the Quakers, long in a hopeless minority in the Province, and again and again defeated, but now in power. It satisfied a body of extreme "Constitutionalists," which not only had old grudges to pay against Quakers and churchmen, the Pembertons and Provost Smith, but were striving also to discredit positive revolutionists of a moderate class like Robert Morris and James Wilson. It sent into banishment for eight months a company of the best men of Philadelphia, whose fault was that they had urged their fellow-members not to violate the long-established principles of their church against war and revolution, and they must be slow to appreciate Quaker character and Quaker history who could believe that persecution would weaken their hold on these principles. It only induced them to close up their ranks and trust their dogmas more implicitly.

By the time the involuntary emigrants were ready to start the number had simmered down to twenty, of whom seventeen were Friends. Some had declared their allegiance and been discharged. The twenty were Israel, James and



John Pemberton, Thomas Wharton, Thomas Miers, and Samuel Fisher, John Hunt, Edward Penington, Henry Drinker, Samuel Jervis, Thomas Affleck, William Drewett Smith, Charles Pleasants, Owen Jones, Jr., Thomas Gilpin, Thomas Pike, William Smith, Elijah Brown and Charles Eddy. They were loaded into wagons and conveyed through Reading and Carlisle to Winchester, where they were retained in a very loose confinement, and allowed to select their own boarding houses, for the State refused any appropriation for the expenses. Indeed, upon their release in the spring the Council ordered.

That the whole expenses of arresting and confining the prisoners sent to Virginia, the expenses of their journey and all other incidental charges be paid by the said prisoners.

The prisoners refused to give any promises, but soon gained the confidence of their keepers and were told that they might go where they pleased within six miles of Winchester. They attended meetings, strengthened their brethren, received their friends and wrote abundant letters. They kept a joint journal, which has been published. They softened the harsh feelings with which they were received by the people, and were accused of influencing the neighbor-

hood against the acceptance of Continental money. The country afforded few comforts, and some of them were men who were hardly able to afford the expenses of transportation—a great matter in those days. Their families were within the lines of two armies, and were seldom heard from, and some were sick. The affair—while it might have been worse—was a serious deprivation to all of them.

The haste with which their banishment was decreed, and the uncertainty as to its duration, prevented a sufficient supply of clothing being taken by some of them, and that inclement winter, which caused such suffering at Valley Forge, did not leave untouched the Virginia exiles, used, as many of them were, to the solace of Philadelphia homes—then the most comfortable, if not the most luxurious, of the continent. In Third month, 1778, Thomas Gilpin died of acute lung trouble, and was buried in Virginia, advising his companions to be faithful to their convictions. Shortly afterward John Hunt followed him to the grave. He was an elderly man, and had made his first acquaintances in America when he came over in 1756, appointed by London Yearly Meeting to advise Friends to resign their places in the Assembly during the trying days of the

French and Indian wars. His leg mortified and had to be amputated. The doctor told him he bore the operation like a hero. "Rather, I hope, like a Christian," said the doomed man.

In the meantime their friends at home were not idle. The Yearly Meeting, which occurred shortly after the banishment, issued an address in explanation of its position:

A number of our friends having been imprisoned and banished unheard from their families under a charge and insinuation that they have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America, and from some publications intimating that there is strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence highly prejudicial to the public safety, may induce a belief that we have in our conduct departed from the peaceable principles which we profess; and apprehending that the minds of some may hereby be misled, for the clearing of truth, we think it necessary publickly to declare that we are led out of all wars and fightings by the principles of grace and truth in our own minds by which we are restrained either as private members of society, or in any of our meetings with holding a correspondence with either army, but are concerned to spread the testimony of truth and peaceable doctrines of Christ, to seek the good of all, to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man, to promote the kingdom of the Messiah which we pray may come and be experienced in individuals, in kingdoms and nations, that they may beat their swords into plow shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and nation not lift sword against nation neither learn war any more. And we deny in general terms all charges and insinuations which in any degree clash with this our profession.

As to a nameless paper lately published said to be dated

at Spanktown yearly meeting and found among the baggage on Staten Island every person who is acquainted with our stile may be convinced it was never wrote at any of our meetings or by any of our friends. Besides there is no meeting throughout our whole society of that name nor was that letter or any one like it, ever wrote in any of our meetings since we were a people.

We therefore solemnly deny the said letter and wish that those who have assumed a fictitious character to write under whether with a view to injure us or cover themselves might find it their place to clear us of this charge by stating the truth.

As from the knowledge we have from our banished friends and the best information we have been able to obtain we are convinced they have done nothing to forfeit their just right to liberty; we fervently desire that all those who have any hand in sending them into banishment might weightily consider the tendency of their own conduct and how contrary it is to the doctrines and example of our Lord and Law Giver Jesus Christ and do them that justice which their case requires by restoring them to their afflicted families and friends. And this we are well assured will conduce more to their peace than keeping them in exile. We give forth this admonition in the fear of God and not only with a view to the relief of our friends but also to the real interest of those concerned in their banishment.

Having been favored to meet to transact the affairs of our religious society which relate to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness we have felt a renewed concern for the good and happiness of mankind in general, and in the love of the gospel have issued forth this testimony for the clearing ourselves and our friends and the warning of those who from groundless suspicions and mistaken notions concerning us may be persuaded to seek our hurt to the wounding of their own souls and the loss of the community.

The Meeting for Sufferings was concerned about the seizure of the minutes of various meet-



ings, and appointed a committee to secure their return. They reported that they called on their erstwhile fellow-member, now Secretary of the Council, Timothy Matlack, through whom all the proceedings, both as to the capture of papers and arrest and banishment of the Friends had passed, and procured all but three, "which Timothy alleged were in possession of Congress." These three were "the rough draft of the epistle of the 21st day of Twelfth month last; report from the Quarterly Meeting held at Rahway the 18th of last month, setting forth the sufferings of Friends on account of our religious testimonies and principles, and the sheet of the rough minutes of this meeting." Congress, no doubt, received some enlightenment from these as to the stand Friends had taken, but the belief must have been dispelled from their minds that the meetings were plotting to aid the cause of the King, and they soon returned all the papers.

The death of two of the exiles and the sickness of others renewed the efforts of their friends at home for their release, and seems also to have touched the hearts of the Executive Council. A committee from Chester County went to Lancaster to attempt to influence the Assembly, then

sitting there, to aid in the cause. Before hearing them that body propounded two questions, to which they demanded formal answers:

Whether you acknowledge the present Assembly to be the representatives of the people of this State, chosen for the purpose of legislation?

Whether you believe the people of this state are bound to a due observance of the laws made by this Assembly?

Their answers were cautious, and probably did not aid in the immediate object they had in view:

We believe the present assembly to be representatives of a body of the people of Pennsylvania chosen for the purpose of legislation.

We believe it our duty to obey the principle of Grace and Truth in our own hearts, which is the fulfilling of all laws established on justice and righteousness. Where any decrees are made not having their foundation thereon they operate against the virtuous and give liberty to the licentious which unavoidably brings on general calamity. Although we think it our duty to bear testimony against all unrighteousness yet it hath ever been our principle and practice either actively or passively to submit to the power which in the course of Providence we live under.

More effective proved to be the visit of four of the wives of the exiles to Lancaster. The result was the minute of Congress, sent by Charles Thomson to James Pemberton:

In Congress 16 March 1778.

Resolved that the Board of War be directed to deliver over to the President and Council of Pennsylvania the prisoners sent from that State to Virginia.

After a leisurely consideration of twenty-three days the Council ordered that the prisoners should be released. The orders, when they came, were couched in most respectful language:

It is reported that several of these gentlemen are in a bad state of health and unfit to travel; if you find this to be the case, they must be left where they are for the present. Those of them who are in health you are to bring with you treating them on the road with that polite attention and care which is due to men who act on the purest motives, to gentlemen whose stations in life entitle them to respect however they may differ in political sentiments from those in whose power they are. You will please to give them every aid in your power by procuring the necessary means of traveling in wagons or otherwise, with such baggage as may be convenient for them on the road.

Here was a long-delayed acknowledgment of the honesty and sincerity of the motives of the prisoners, and a practical withdrawal of the charges against them.

The prisoners' wives had sent a preliminary letter to General Washington, dated Third month 31st:

Esteemed Friend

The pressing necessity of an application to thee when perhaps thy other engagements of importance may by it be interrupted I hope will plead my excuse. It is on behalf of myself and the rest of the suffering and afflicted parents wives and near connections of our beloved husbands now in banishment at Winchester. What adds to our distress in this sorrowful circumstance is the word we have lately received of the removal of one of them by death and that

divers of them are much indisposed; and as we find they are in want of necessaries for sick people we desire the favor of General Washington to grant a protection to one or more wagons, and for the persons we may employ to go with them, in order that they may be accommodated with what is suitable for which we shall be much obliged.

Signed on behalf of the whole,

MARY PEMBERTON.

Washington sent the letter to Governor Wharton, at Lancaster, with a favorable recommendation, and followed it the next day with another letter, passing on the four wives of the prisoners, who had called on him at Valley Forge for permission to pass the lines:

You will judge of the propriety of permitting them to proceed further than Lancaster but from appearances I imagine their request may safely be granted, as they seem much distressed—humanity pleads strongly in their behalf.

When the prisoners reached the neighborhood of Philadelphia, General Washington kindly sent them a pass to go through his lines, and they reached their homes without further mishap. In all the relations of the General with the Friends we find the greatest courtesy on his part, and the most respectful language, whether in minutes of meetings or in private letters on theirs. He understood their scruples and respected them, and they felt the reality of his politeness and sense of justice. Some Friends from Virginia,



about this time, were arrested for not entering the army,—had their muskets tied to them and were otherwise severely treated. When they reached Washington's camp he immediately had them discharged.

As further illustrating the courtesy shown by Washington to Friends, his treatment of a committee sent to convey to him and General Howe their testimony against war is abundant proof. It was just after the battle of Germantown, when the American cause was not in the least promising, and needed all the positive aid it could possibly receive. Their brethren had gone off to Virginia under a serious cloud, and many a military commander would have treated them with scant forbearance. His own consideration, and their reciprocal care to give neither party any advantage by the visit, are strikingly shown by their report:

We, the committee appointed by our last yearly meeting to visit the generals of the two contending armies on the second day of the week following our said meeting proceeded to General Howe's headquarters near Germantown and had a seasonable opportunity of a conference with him and delivered him one of the testimonies issued by the yearly meeting and then proceeded on our way to General Washington's camp at which we arrived the next day without meeting with any interruption, and being conducted to headquarters where the principal officers were assembled in Council after waiting some time we were admitted and

had a very full opportunity of clearing the society from the aspersions which had been invidiously raised against them and distributed a number of the testimonies amongst the officers, who received and read them and made no objections.

We were much favored and mercifully helped with the seasoning virtue of truth and the presence of the master was very sensibly felt who made way for us beyond expectation, it being a critical and dangerous season. We may further add that we were kindly entertained by General Washington and his officers, but lest on our return, we should be examined as to intelligence, we were desired to go to Pottsgrove for a few days within which time such alterations might take place as to render our return less exceptionable to them, where we were accordingly sent under the guard or care of a single officer & hospitably entertained by Thomas Rutter a very kind man and others of our friends; in this town we had some good service for truth. Two of the committee were discharged on sixth day afternoon and the other four on seventh day having been detained between 3 and 4 days. Two of the Friends upon coming within the English lines were stopped and questioned respecting intelligence about the Americans, which they declined to give. They were sent under a guard to the Hessian Colonel who commanded at that post, and he proposed several questions respecting the American Army, which the friends declining to answer, he grew very angry rough and uncivil using some harsh reflecting language and ordered a guard to conduct them to the Hessian General Kniphausen who appeared more friendly, but he not understanding the English language sent them under the conduct of a light horseman or trooper to General Howe's head quarters at Germantown but upon the two friends informing his aide de camps who they were, they were dismissed without being further interrogated, so that no kind of intelligence was obtained from them, nor any departure from the language of the testimony they had delivered. We believe the Lord's hand was in it guarding us from improper compliances and bringing us through this

weighty service though it was a time of close humbling baptism.

As to the charge respecting the intelligence said to have been given by Spank Town yearly meeting, we believe General Washington and all the officers there present, being a pretty many were fully satisfied as to Friends' clearness and we hope and believe through the Lords blessing, the opportunity we had was useful many ways, there having been great openness and many observations upon various subjects to edification and tending to remove and clear up some prejudices which had been imbibed.

Samuel Emlen, Jr., Joshua Morris, Warner Mifflin, Wm. Brown, James Thornton, Nicholas Waln.

Phila 1, 10th mo. 1778.

An interesting sequel to this visit is related. When Washington was President, one of the committee—Warner Mifflin, a cousin of the General's—called upon him. The President remembered him, and adverted to their former interview. "Mr. Mifflin," he said, "will you now please tell me on what principle you were opposed to the Revolution?" "Yes, Friend Washington; upon the principle that I should be opposed to a change in the present government. All that was ever secured by revolution is not an adequate compensation for the poor mangled soldiers and for the loss of life and limb." "I honor your sentiments," replied the President, "for there is more in them than mankind has generally considered."

## CHAPTER VIII.

## QUAKER SUFFERING.

Whatever inclinations towards British interests may have been stirred up in Quaker breasts by the banishment of their Friends were effectually checked by the behavior of the British soldiery in and around Philadelphia during the disastrous winter of 1777-78. The revels, in high places and low, into which some young Friends were drawn, the ruthless disregard of personal and property rights, the abuse of their fair city, soon alienated the minds of Friends, and confirmed them in their view that if they could not aid revolution, neither could they aid in its active suppression.

On First month 8th, 1778, the Meeting for Sufferings says:

The violence, plunderings, and devastations of some of the soldiers and others attendant upon the British army committed in this city and its environs, and more particularly in their excursions into and marchings through the country in contradiction to the proclamations issued out by General Howe coming under the solid consideration of this meeting, and our minds being dipped into a sympathy with the sufferers, and feeling a desire that the same may be represented to and laid before the General in a weighty manner the following friends are appointed, etc.





A NEW VIEW OF THE STATE HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA taken 7/1



And again, later:

The spirit of dissipation, levity and profaneness which sorrowfully has spread and is spreading, principally promoted by the military among us in and near the city at this time of calamity and distress affecting the minds of friends with pain and deep distress, our friends John Pemberton at the High street meeting Samuel Smith at the Bank and Nicholas Waln at Pine Street on first-day morning next are desired to declare our disunity there with and to warn and caution our youth and others as truth may open the way against going to the entertainments and other vain and wanton exhibitions proposed to be made so highly inconsistent with our profession and to shun the many snares into which they may be liable to fall unless they keep upon their watch.

In a general report to London Friends of the condition of things, dated Second month 26th, they further say, charging both sides impartially:

This city and its environs are at present under military government and the intercourse between us and the country much interrupted; but Country friends sometimes are favored to get to our meetings, whereby we have some opportunities of conference upon matters respecting our religious testimony to the edification and encouragement of one another. Our Quarterly Meeting held in the early part of this month was large considering our present circumstances and some Friends from every Monthly Meeting belonging to it attended, some of whom live about sixty miles from hence.

In this city we have not lately suffered any personal injuries but many friends and others have sustained losses to a very considerable amount in their properties. In the country over which the Government lately set up instead of our late excellent constitution, exercise power, great finings,

imprisonments and various other distresses have been inflicted upon many, who cannot for conscience sake join in their measures.

Friends very generally have kept their habitations under all the prevailing commotions, some few upon strong motives have taken refuge within the English lines and a few from apprehensions of difficulties in procuring the necessaries for supporting their families have removed out of this city into the country.

The friends who were banished from hence to Virginia are well accommodated and supplied at their own charge at private houses and some of them at friends houses near Winchester, they are suffered to ride six miles, within the compass of which there are two meetings besides which they keep meetings on first-day and also a week-day meeting which is attended by some not professing with us, and many of the inhabitants lately seem favourably disposed towards them. It was expected they would have been removed near 100 miles further from hence to Staunton, the place of their original destination but the order for their removal is at present suspended. Endeavours have been used to obtain their release but without the desired effect. The keeping them in exile is severe and unjust, but patience must be exercised till the Lord make way for their deliverance in his own time.

By laws lately made in New Jersey, the male inhabitants are forbid under pain of death and women under the penalty of £300 fine or 12 months imprisonment from coming within the English lines without a special license which is seldom granted so that Friends are prevented from coming to this city from thence, but we are well informed they have been subjected to very great sufferings both in person and estate in that province.

The opposition of the Friends, as we have seen, extended not only to actual participation in war, but to paying war taxes, subscribing to tests



of allegiance, and supplying provisions to the army, except where the purpose was to relieve suffering and not to advance the national cause. They were very radical, and could see no distinction between taking part themselves and paying someone else to do their work. They had probably gone beyond the stage wherein they could say, in the favorite words of the Quaker assemblymen of thirty years before, "While we do not, as the world is now circumstanced, condemn the use of arms by others, we are principled against bearing arms ourselves." Their attitude, however, cannot be fully understood if we look upon them as testifying merely against war. They had always claimed, in the old English days of suffering, that they were different from most other dissenters, because under no circumstances could they plot against the king. They would suffer indefinitely rather than obey an unrighteous law, but no Quaker, no matter how outrageously he was treated, was ever in any conspiracy against the existing government. The revolutionary movement was a plot against the recognized English authority. It was not their method of resistance to tyranny, and they would not touch it nor support it. When peace was declared, all their sense of unwavering alle-

giance was transferred to the new government, and they had no rancor stored up against its exponents, though it required years to live down the reciprocal feeling towards themselves.

Unquestionably, they were very unpopular with the mass of the people of strong American sympathies during the war, and those who controlled the political destinies of the State of Pennsylvania did nothing to shield them. On the contrary, they turned upon a number of men, who were undoubtedly honest and conscientious, the terrors of jails, fines and serious distraint of goods, for their unwillingness to take part in the revolutionary proceedings. The Meeting for Sufferings reported distraints amounting to £9,500 in 1778. By the end of the war, the aggregate reached at least £35,000. The demand to subscribe to the test of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania was followed at first by imprisonment, which served to show that some Quakers at least were made of the same unconquerable stuff as their ancestors of a century before. Three of them were kept in Lancaster jail for fifteen months for this cause, and when finally ordered to be released they refused to pay the jailer's fees, for they said they were convicted neither by their consciences nor by

any fair trial, so they would not contribute to the expenses of the iniquitous imprisonment. They were, however, released.

The law, which filled the prisons and yet added nothing to the coffers of the government, was unsatisfactory, so it was abolished, and fines imposed to be collected by distraint. In one Quarterly Meeting (Western) over \$68,000 was in this way levied between 1778 and 1786, for the collections went on long after the war was over. In 1781 the Yearly Meeting could say : "The sufferings of Friends in these parts have much increased, and continue increasing in a manner which to outward prospect looks ruinous."

If the State government had thought to intimidate the Friends by their imprisonments at Lancaster and elsewhere, and their banishment to Virginia, or to stop the mouth of the meetings in their advices to take no part in the American cause, they were greatly disappointed.

Shortly after the return of the exiles, they themselves largely participating, the Meeting for Sufferings issued another minute, not less objectionable from the patriot standpoint than any which had preceded it, urging Friends to subscribe to no tests, and to give no aid to the war. There was also formed at this time a committee

to collect all cases of sufferings throughout the Yearly Meeting; from the minutes of which can be gained a very detailed account of the peculiar difficulties of the country Friends.\* The minute was as follows :

The committee having considered the cases of the six friends now imprisoned in the common jail at Lancaster, and being fully convinced that they are suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, being by religious considerations restrained from complying with the injunctions prescribed by some of the laws lately enacted in Pennsylvania we are united in believing that it is our duty to lay their cases and the weight of their sufferings before those who have committed them to prison and should likewise apply to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania and endeavor to obtain their release, and we therefore propose that some judicious friends should be desired to apply to the Magistrate who committed them to prison and some others should attend the said Council and in such manner as they may be enabled in the wisdom of truth perform this service either in person or writing as on consideration they may judge most expedient.

And on consideration of what is necessary to be proposed to Friends in general on the subject of the declaration of

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\* For instance:

"From John Ferree four horse creatures, thirteen cattle, seven and a half bushels of wheat, twenty of clean rye, one stack of do., forty bushels of corn, two stacks of oats and one of hay. £187 7 0."

"They also took from Joshua Sharpless one blanket worth 10s. and left money with his son a lad; but Joshua afterwards sent the money to them." This was in 1777, when the army was scouring the country for blankets. There are many similar records. The Friends uniformly refused to sell to the army.



allegiance and abjuration required by some late laws passed by the legislatures who now preside in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, having several times met and deliberated thereon, we have the satisfaction to find we are united in judgment that consistent with our religious principles we cannot comply with the requisitions of those laws, as we cannot be instrumental in setting up or pulling down of any government but it becomes us to shew forth a peaceable and meek behaviour to all men, seeking their good, and to live a useful sober and religious life without joining ourselves with any parties in war or with the spirit of strife and contention now prevailing and believe that if our conduct is thus uniform and steady and our hopes fixed on the omnipotent arm for relief, that in time he will amply reward us with lasting peace which hath been the experience of our friends in time past and we hope is of some who are now under sufferings. In order to communicate this union of sentiment on so important a subject and to preserve our brethren in religious profession from wounding their own minds and bringing burthens upon themselves and others, we think it expedient to recommend to the committees appointed in the several Monthly Meetings to assist in suffering cases in pursuance of the advice of our Yearly Meeting; with other faithful Friends speedily to appoint a solid meeting or meetings of conference with each other in the several Quarters, in which the grounds of our principles on this head may be opened and our objections against complying with those laws fully explained and a united concern maintained to strengthen each other in the way of truth and righteousness and to warn and caution in the spirit of love and meekness those who may be in danger of deviating.

This was followed up by an appeal to the Assembly to respect the consciences of that people who, in the day of their power, had been so tolerant of others:

The government of the consciences of men is the prerogative of the almighty God who will not give his glory to another. Every encroachment upon this his prerogative is offensive to his spirit, and he will not hold them guiltless who invade it but will sooner or later manifest his displeasure to all who persist therein.

These truths we doubt not will obtain the assent of every considerate mind.

The immediate occasion of our now applying to you is, we have received accounts from different places that a number of our friends have been and are imprisoned, some for refusing to pay the fines imposed in lieu of personal services in the present war and others for refusing to take the test prescribed by some laws lately made. The ground of our refusal is a religious scruple in our minds against such compliance not from obstinacy or any other motive than a desire of keeping a conscience void of offence towards God, which we cannot without a steady adherence to our peaceable principles and testimony against wars and fightings founded on the precepts and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace by a conformity to which we are bound to live a peaceable and quiet life and restrained from making any declarations or entering into any engagements as parties in the present unsettled state of public affairs.

We fervently desire you may consider the generous and liberal foundation of the charter and laws agreed upon in England between our first worthy Proprietary William Penn and our ancestors whereby they apprehended religious and civil liberty would be secured inviolate to themselves and their posterity, so that Pensilvania hath since been considered an asylum for men of tender consciences and many of the most useful people have resorted hither in expectation of enjoying freedom from the persecution they suffered in their native countries.

We believe every attempt to abridge us of that liberty will be a departure from the true spirit of government which ought to influence all well regulated legislatures and also destructive of the real interest and good of the com-





VALLEY FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE.

(BUILT IN 1730—OLD VIEW.)

*Used as a shelter for the American troops during the Revolution*



munity and therefore desire the laws which have a tendency to oppress tender consciences may be repealed so that those who live peaceably may not be further disturbed or molested but permitted to enjoy the rights and immunities which their forefathers purchased through much suffering and difficulty and to continue in the careful observation of the great duty of the religious instruction and education of the youth from which by one part of the said laws they are liable to be restrained.

We hope, on due consideration of what we now offer, you will provide for the discharge of such who are in bonds for the testimony of a good conscience which may prevent others hereafter from suffering in like manner.

Signed in and by the desire of our said Meeting held at Philadelphia the 5th day of the 8th mo., 1778.

by Nicholas Waln, Clerk.

There was also considerable inconvenience and loss in the use of the various meeting-houses for barracks and hospitals. Fairhill, in the city, was occupied by the British troops through the winter of 1777-8. Birmingham house was a hospital for the American sick before the battle of Brandywine, and for the British wounded afterwards. Radnor was an American barracks for some time, and Reading, Valley, Gwynedd, Uwchlan and Plymouth all performed their service in sheltering the American soldiery. At Kennett, near the Brandywine battlefield, we find a committee appointed seven days after the battle to distribute aid, "a concern arising in this meeting for the distressed inhabitants

among us who have suffered by the armies, therefore it is recommended to Friends in general to encourage benevolence and charity by distributing of their sustenance to such as they think are in want." The committee did not find any extreme cases : "They generally appear to bear their sufferings with a good degree of cheerfulness."

Chester Monthly Meeting, through whose limits the two armies had passed, and whose members had felt the ravages more particularly of the British soldiery, on Tenth month 27th, 1777, records that "Preparative Meetings are desired to endeavor to raise subscriptions to be applied for the relief of such as are or may be hereafter in necessitous circumstances in this time of trial and suffering."

When Howe's army passed through the highly-tilled fields of the Quaker counties, just at the end of a productive harvest, with the barns well stored with grain and the houses full of every comfort, they made the most of their short stay. The irresponsible freebooters seized not only such things as might be useful, but recklessly destroyed the furniture and carried away the female apparel unchecked by their superior officers.

In the winter the Americans followed, for Congressional orders had been given that all supplies within seventy miles of Valley Forge should be used by the army if needed. These were paid for in the depreciated currency of the times, but all payment the Quakers refused. Their refusal to take the oath of allegiance and abjuration increased their chances of being the victims of the operations of the American foraging parties.

Up to the middle of 1778 no part of the country had suffered by the ravages of war so much as Philadelphia and its neighborhood, and no part of this had been so thoroughly ransacked as the strip between the Chesapeake and Philadelphia, over which Howe's army had passed.

While the British were in the city, an American order was issued to prevent the attendance of Friends at the Yearly Meeting, on the plea that these meetings were centres of plotting against the government. This was just after the Spanktown affair, and even Washington seemed to have entertained some suspicion. General Lacey, to whom the orders were given, passed them on with the injunction "to fire into those who refused to stop when hailed, and leave their dead bodies lying in the road." It may have

been well to stop intercourse on military grounds, but the Yearly Meetings were very harmless, and no treasonable plots were ever hatched in them.

Another serious difficulty arose from a law that all school teachers should take the test, under heavy penalties. There were at this time a considerable number of Quaker schools and school teachers. Some closed and some went on till thrown into jail for a refusal to pay the fine.\* This trouble led to another protest to the Assembly dated Eleventh month 3d, 1779:

To the General Assembly of Pennsylvania: The memorial and address of the religious Society called Quakers respectfully sheweth:

That divers laws have been lately enacted which are very injurious in their nature, oppressive in the manner of execution, and greatly affect us in our religious and civil liberties and privileges, particularly a law passed by the last Assembly entitled "A further supplement to the test laws of this State," in the operation whereof the present and succeeding generations are materially interested. We therefore apprehend it a duty owing to ourselves and our posterity to lay before you the grievances to which we are subjected by these laws.

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\* Joshua Bennett was committed to Lancaster jail, "he having been convicted of having kept school, not having taken the oath or affirmation of allegiance to the State, according to law." He was fined £100, but the State got no fine and the jailor no fees.



Our predecessors on their early settlement in this part of America, being piously concerned for the prosperity of the colony and the real welfare of their posterity, among other salutary institutions promoted at their own expence the establishment of schools for the instruction of their Youth in useful and necessary learning and their education in piety and virtue, the practice of which forms the most sure basis for perpetuating the enjoyment of Christian liberty and essential happiness.

By the voluntary contributions by the members of our religious Society, Schools were set up in which not only their children were taught but their liberality hath been extended to poor children of other religious denominations generally, great numbers of whom have partaken thereof; and these schools have been in like manner continued and maintained for a long course of years.

Duty to Almighty God made known in the consciences of men and confirmed by the holy Scriptures is an invariable rule which should govern their judgment and actions. He is the only Lord and Sovereign of Conscience, and to him we are accountable for our conduct, as by him all men are to be finally judged. By conscience we mean the apprehension and persuasion a man has of his duty to God and the liberty of conscience we plead for is a free open profession and unmolested exercise of that duty, such a conscience as under the influence of divine grace keeps within the bounds of morality in all the affairs of human life and teacheth to live soberly righteously and godly in the world.

As a religious Society, we have ever held forth the Gospel dispensation was introduced for completing the happiness of mankind by taking away the occasion of strife contention and bloodshed and therefore we all conscientiously restrained from promoting or joining in wars and fightings: and when laws have been made to enforce our compliance contrary to the conviction of our consciences, we have thought it our duty patiently to suffer though we have often been grievously oppressed. Principle we hold in this respect requires us to be a peaceable people and

through the various changes and revolutions which have occurred since our religious Society has existed, we have never been concerned in promoting or abetting any combinations insurrections or parties to endanger the public peace or by violence to oppose the authority of government apprehending it our duty quietly to submit and peaceably to demean ourselves under every government which Divine Providence in his unerring wisdom may permit to be placed over us; so that no government can have just occasion for entertaining fears or jealousies of disturbance or danger from us. But if any professing with us deviate from this peaceable principle into a contrary conduct and foment discords, feuds or animosities, giving just occasion of uneasiness and disquiet, we think it our duty, to declare against their proceeding.

By the same divine principle, we are restrained from complying with the injunctions and requisitions made on us of tests and declarations of fidelity to either party who are engaged in actual war lest we contradict by our conduct the profession of our faith.

It is obvious that in these days of depravity, as in former times, because of oaths the land mourns and the multiplying the use of them and such solemn engagements renders them familiar, debases the mind of the people and adds to the number of those gross evils already lamentably prevalent which have drawn down the chastisement of heaven on our guilty country.

We are not actuated by political or party motives; we are real friends to our country, who wish its prosperity and think a solicitude for the enjoyments of our equitable rights, and that invaluable privilege, Liberty of Conscience, free from coercion, cannot be justly deemed unreasonable. Many of us and other industrious inhabitants being exposed to heavy penalties and sufferings, which are abundantly increased by the rigour of mistaken and unreasonable men under the sanction of law, whereby many are already reduced to great straits and threatened with total ruin, the effects of whose imprisonment must at length be very

sensibly felt by the community at large through the decline of cultivation and the necessary employments.

We have been much abused and vilified by many anonymous publications and our conduct greatly perverted and misrepresented by groundless reports and the errors of individuals charged upon us as a body in order to render us odious to the people and prepossess the minds of persons in power against us; being conscious of our innocence and "submitting our cause to the Lord who judgeth righteously" we have preferred patience in bearing the reproach to public contest, not doubting that as the minds of the people became more settled and composed, our peaceable demeanour would manifest the injustice we suffered, and being persuaded that on a cool dispassionate hearing we should be able to invalidate or remove the mistaken suggestions and reports prevailing to our prejudice.

The matters we have now freely laid before you are serious and important, which we wish you to consider wisely as men and religiously as Christians manifesting yourselves friends to true liberty and enemies to persecution, by repealing the several penal laws affecting tender consciences and restoring to us our equitable rights that the means of education and instruction of our youth which we conceive to be our reasonable and religious duty, may not be obstructed and that the oppressed may be relieved. In your consideration whereof, we sincerely desire that you may seek for and be directed by that supreme "wisdom which is pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits" and are your real friends.

Signed on behalf of a meeting of the Representatives of the said people held in Philadelphia the 4th Day of the 11 mo 1779.

JOHN DRINKER, Clerk.

In other respects also the Friends seemed to have fallen upon evil times. The windows of their

houses and shops were broken, and other injuries were perpetrated by the mob "for following their lawful occupations on days appointed by Congress on pretence of fasting and humiliation." They would neither weep with those who wept nor rejoice with those who rejoiced at the command of government.

On the evening of the 4th of the Seventh month, 1777, which day was set apart for the purpose of public feasting and rejoicing, to commemorate the anniversary of declaring these colonies independent of the authority and government of Great Britain, the like abuse was committed on the houses of divers friends for declining to illuminate them with candles in the windows, a vain practice which our religious Society has ever held forth a testimony against.

Then there seemed to be a persistent purpose to elect or appoint Friends to offices which it was known they would not fill, and fine them for non-compliance. All offices were demurred to by those in harmony with the Yearly Meeting, but places as tax-gatherers were peculiarly objectionable, for the taxes went to the support of the war, and must be forced from conscientious people.

Some of them also disapproved of handling the paper money of the day. The Meeting apparently went no further than to advise against paying off debts in depreciated currency on ac-



count of injustice to the creditor, but individuals argued that as this money was issued to aid the war it was wrong to touch it. When, however, one Friend, after carefully settling a debt in hard money at considerable loss to himself, found that it was immediately seized by the government as a great addition to its resources, he began to question whether his refusal to handle the prevailing currency had any virtue in it.

As an illustration of the great carefulness of Friends not to take even an indirect part in war, we have the following account of Joseph Townsend, a young man, who out of curiosity followed the British army as it marched past his home towards the Brandywine battle:

I arrived at the bars on the road where I was met by several companies of soldiers who were ordered into the field to form and prepare for the approaching engagement. The openings of the bars not being of sufficient width to admit them to pass with that expedition which the emergency of the case required, a German officer on horseback ordered the fence to be taken down, and as I was near to the spot had to be subject to his requiring as he flourished a drawn sword over my head with others who stood by. On a removal of the second rail I was forcibly struck with the impropriety of being active in assisting to take the lives of my fellow beings and therefore desisted in proceeding any further in obedience to his commands.

The Yearly Meeting also advised against fur-

nishing supplies to the army by grinding grain, feeding cattle, making weapons, or otherwise procuring any profit from traffic with it; also against allowing any of their goods to be shipped in armed vessels. Truly the way of a conscientious Quaker in the midst of war is a narrow one, and the wonder is that so large a proportion were able, in a time of excitement and bitter partisanship, to agree to recommend to their brethren, and practice themselves, the advice of the following minute:

So that we may by Divine assistance be mutually helpful in maintaining a conduct uniformly consistent with our religious principles, which do not allow of our accepting of or continuing in any public office or being anyways active under the power and authority exercised at this time as they appear to be founded in the spirit of war and fightings. Friends are therefore exhorted and cautioned against being concerned in electing or being elected to any place of profit or trust under the present commotion, nor to pay any fine penalty or tax in lieu of personal service for carrying on the present war or to consent to or allow of our apprentices children or servants acting therein, and carefully to avoid all trade and business tending to promote war and particularly against partaking of the spoils of war by buying or vending prize goods of any kind.

A little body of Friends had settled on the frontiers at Catawissa, and built a meeting-house. In this position they were in much more difficulty than if in the Quaker counties, be-

cause of the long-standing hostile feelings of the frontiersmen. They were in the midst of Indian ravages, and many of their neighbors had sought safety by flight. They, however, remained unarmed, and their confidence was justified. No red man disturbed them. When Moses Roberts, a minister, was approaching the meeting-house as usual on the first day of the week for their quiet worship, he and other leaders of the meeting were arrested, placed in jail, and without accusation or trial informed that their liberation could only be secured by offering bail to the extent of £10,000. Two of them were sent down the Susquehanna in a canoe, and without trial were kept in Lancaster jail for eleven months. Two months after their arrest a body of armed men drove their families out of their houses, leaving them without any means of support, and seized their property. They were financially ruined. The supposition was that they were aiding the Indians by giving information, a suspicion excited by their immunity from molestation in the Indian raids. As they were denied a trial then or afterwards, no proof on either side can now be adduced, but it is almost certain that men of their character would not even indirectly assist in the cruel

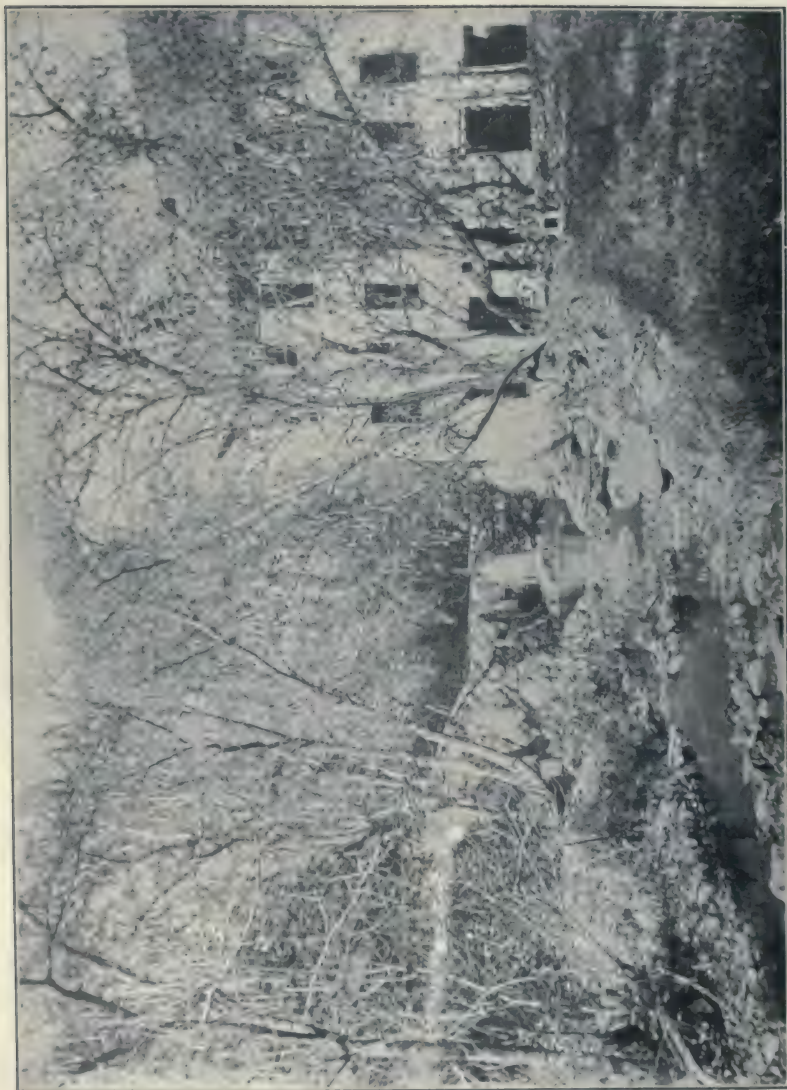
Indian attacks on their white brethren. It was probably some of the same spirit which animated the Paxton boys of 1764 which caused their imprisonment and the spoliation of their goods.

A still sadder narrative is that of the trial and execution of two Friends in Philadelphia in the latter part of 1778. When the city was evacuated by the British, most of the Tories, anticipating danger from the temper of the Americans, placed themselves safely within the British lines. The Quakers, however, remained at their homes. The most of them had been passive in their actions, even when loyalists at heart, and nothing could be laid to their charge. The excited populace, however, demanded victims, and they were found in two men who had disregarded the advice of their meetings and given active aid to the royal cause.

Abraham Carlisle was a carpenter in Philadelphia. During the British occupancy he had accepted a commission to superintend passes through the British lines. Having large acquaintance and a good character, he undertook this, probably in no mercenary spirit, and, as many witnesses testified, with a desire to alleviate distress, which he succeeded in doing in a number of cases.







MILL OF JOHN ROBERTS.

(Photographed 1899.)

John Roberts was a miller. His mill is still standing on Mill Creek, in Lower Merion Township, Montgomery County, about ten miles from the centre of Philadelphia. He was now nearly sixty years old, of perfect integrity, and a benevolent disposition. These were certified to by willing witnesses of the highest character, who gave many instances of his goodness of heart. He was in good standing among Friends and socially connected with cultivated families within the Society. His sympathies were British, and when his friends were banished to Virginia he became greatly excited at the injustice. He visited Howe, then marching across Chester County, and offered to conduct a body of troops to intercept the convoy and release the prisoners. Finding himself an object of dislike to his neighbors, and fearing molestation, he took refuge within the lines of the British army. Thence he would appear at intervals as guide to a party of foragers in their excursions among the farms of his locality. His friends claimed this to be involuntary, and that he used his influence to shield poor people who he knew could not afford to part with their goods. His enemies considered him the willing agent of the invading army in pointing out the houses of the friends of the

American cause. With the records before us it is impossible to determine which view was correct.

The two men were tried before Chief Justice McKean, and were convicted of high treason.

Their age and high standing, their large families, the prevailing opinion that while technically guilty they were sacrificed to an ignoble demand for vengeance on many who were far more culpable, created great interest in their case. Petitions showered into the Executive Council in great numbers, asking reprieves. The most of the members of the grand and petit juries, fortified by the signatures of the justices of the court, nearly four hundred other signers in the case of Carlisle and nearly one thousand in that of Roberts, embracing eminent men in the American army and in civil and social positions, sent in their urgent appeals. But the attempt was futile, and in a public conveyance, with their coffins before them and ropes about their necks, they were carried to their execution.

There was the deepest sympathy among Friends for the sufferers. The letters of the times, when they refer to the case, speak as if the Friends had endured an unmerited penalty, by an unnecessary, if legal, stretch of authority.



Inasmuch as the Yearly Meeting had advised strongly against the course of action which had brought them into the court, no official protest was made. The Meeting for Sufferings appointed a committee to write their views of the case, but their report does not appear on the minutes till 1785, though it bears the date of Eighth month 4th, 1779, and is referred to in contemporary letters.

After a general introduction, it describes the cases as follows:

One of them was an Inhabitant of this City of a reputable moral character, who after the British army took possession thereof in the Fall of the year 1777 was prevailed upon to accept of an office to grant permitts or persons to pass in and out; his acceptance of which station and acting therein giving concern to Friends, they expressed their uneasiness to him, but their endeavors to convince him of his error did not prevail with him to decline or withdraw executing it.

The other being a member of a neighbouring Mo. Meeting in the country, we have not learned that any religious care or advice was seasonably extended to him; he resided at Merion, maintained a reputable character among men, well respected for his hospitality, benevolent disposition and readiness to serve his neighbors and friends, and to administer relief to the afflicted or distressed.

In the 9th mo. 1777, several Friends and others of their fellow citizens being unjustly apprehended and imprisoned, and afterwards sent into banishment without an examination or hearing; suffering his mind to be too much moved by this arbitrary violation of civil and religious liberty, he hastened away without previously

consulting with them, to give intelligence thereof to the General of the British Army then on their march towards this city, in hope to frustrate the intention of sending them into exile; which proceeding of his, when it became known, gave sensible pain and concern to Friends. Some time after his return from this journey he was seen in company with the English Army, or parties of them, in some of their marches or enterprizes not far distant from the city, but he allways insisted this was against his will, and that he was forcibly compelled to it, which also appears by the evidence given at his trial; but these parts of his conduct furnished occasion for the prosecution against him.

After the British Army evacuated this city in the Sixth month, 1778, their opponents returned, and resuming their power, these two members were in a short time arraigned with divers other persons, for high Treason, and after a trial were by a jury declared guilty, sentenced to be executed and their estates confiscated to the Government.

Having perused a copy of the evidence taken at their trial, we find it to be a very contradictory, and discover clear indications of a party spirit, and that they were prosecuted with great severity and rigour is also apparent, the punishment inflicted far exceeding the nature of their offence; and that this was the general sense of the people was demonstrated by great numbers of all rank uniting their interests and influence for saving their lives by petitions and divers personal applications to the persons in power who held the authority over them; but they proved inexorable, alledging political reasons for rejecting those ardent solicitations. Notwithstanding they were members of our religious Society whom we respected and commiserated in their distressed situation yet as through their inadvertence to the principles of Divine Grace, and overlooking the repeated advice and caution given forth by Friends they were suffered to fall into such error and deviation, which occasioned great trouble of mind and affliction to their brethren, and affected the reputation of truth, this meeting or any other

was restrained from interposing in their favour or vindication, as is our duty and usual care when our brethren are subjected to suffering or persecution for righteousness sake and the testimony of a good conscience; nevertheless we were sensibly touched with much sympathy toward them, which was manifested by the repeated visits of divers Friends who were religiously concerned for their welfare, some of whom have informed us that through the merciful visitation of Divine Kindness they were favoured with a sense of their deviation from that rectitude and stability of conduct which our peaceable Christian principles require; and John Roberts at one time with earnestness expressed, "that he had gone beyond the line, and seen his deviation, and if his life was spared he should spend it differently."

And Abraham Carlisle said, "that he saw the station he had filled and acted in, in a different light, and that he had been under a cloud when he thought he was doing right"; and on some further conversation respecting the concern and burthen he had brought on Friends by omitting to give attention to some early hints and advice, he appeared disposed to acknowledge his error in writing; and at another time expressed "that he was very sorry he had given any uneasiness to Friends, as he always had a regard to the Society." It also appears that near the close of their time, from the disposition of mind attending them, there is grounds to hope and believe they were, through Divine Mercy, prepared for their awful, solemn change, expressing their resignation thereto, forgiveness of those who sought their destruction, and their desire that all men might timely and happily experience redemption from the evils of the world, evidencing by their sentiments and the tranquil state of their minds, that they were not left comfortless in the hour of extremity.

In reply to an address of Friends to the Pennsylvania Assembly, asking protection against persecutions for conscience' sake, that body de-

siring a strict definition of their principles and intentions with regard to the new government, sent a set of questions to which they desired categorical answers in writing:

1. Do you acknowledge the Supreme Legislative Power of the State rightfully and lawfully vested in the present House of Representatives met in Assembly?

2. Do you acknowledge the Supreme Executive Power of the State to be lawfully and rightfully vested in the present President and Council?

3. Do you acknowledge and agree that the same obedience and respect is due to these bodies respectively that you formerly paid and acknowledged to the Governor and Assembly respectively while Pennsylvania was dependent on Great Britain?

4. Are you willing and do you agree to render the same respect and obedience you rendered Governor and Assembly in Pa. before the present war between Great Britain and America?

5. Do you consider yourselves now living under the laws of the State with regard to your personal liberty and property?

6. Do you admit it to be the right of the governed to resist the Governors when the powers of Government are used to the oppression and destruction of the governed?

7. Do you or do you not deem the laws passed by the King and Parliament of Gt. Britain for taxing this country, prohibiting its trade, sending its inhabitants to Gt. Britain for trial, oppressive and destructive to the people of America?

They also asked why they would not use Continental money, and why they made a distinction between it and other paper money previously issued for war purposes; and finally requested



copies of all minutes and addresses to the members and to other Yearly Meetings bearing on the question of allegiance.

To these requests the Meeting for Sufferings replied that they were a religious, not a political, body, and that the inquisition into their opinions was entirely without precedent in America. Individually they had political opinions, but collectively they had only moral and religious opinions, to which the world was welcome.

They had always believed government to be a Divine ordinance, and Governors who ruled well worthy of all honor, nevertheless that conscience must be respected as supreme over all human laws. They were opposed to war, and their opposition was founded on the Gospel, which pointed to the approaching reign of universal peace, love and harmony.

They had declined to take any part on either side of the existing contest or to join in any way to promote disturbance, and many had refused the payment of war taxes for a long time before the Revolution.

Their papers had been seized in 1777, and returned because nothing seditious was found in them.

Finally, they said their desire was to develop

such a temper of mind as would enable them to forgive all injuries and to prove they are friends to all men.

The Assembly failed in bringing them to declare themselves, as, owing to the diversity among them, it would have been manifestly impossible to do. As many in state authority were disowned Friends, who knew exactly the situation, it is probable that the questions were really intended to foster division or increase popular disapproval rather than to elicit information, and a general answer was all that could safely be given.

The dislike of the Quakers showed itself in a violent outbreak in Philadelphia. The more extreme of the revolutionaries, under Joseph Reed, were in general control during the latter years of the war, but at times they could not restrain the mob of their own partisans in the streets. A general like Mifflin, and signers of the Declaration of Independence like Morris and Wilson, were hardly safe in their own city. They were too moderate, and hence had their doors battered in by the rioters, and were in danger of their lives. Under such circumstances it is hardly to be expected that the Quakers, who had never approved of

the Revolution, should be unmolested. The feeling came out strongly when they refused to illuminate their houses "on the occasion of a victory of one of the parties of war over the other," in which general manner they characterized the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. Their general unpopularity seemed to have weighed on them when they contrasted it with their former strength. They were conscious that while never professing to approve of the Revolution as a body, they had never opposed it or attempted to resist, nor even to escape from its government. They had lived quietly at their homes, under American and British occupancy, under the rule of moderates and radicals, opposing no one, and always good and peaceable citizens. Their faults, if their actions were faults, were negative. Under these circumstances it seemed good to them as a matter of defence to issue, now that the war was practically over, one more address in explanation of their course:

Eleventh mo. 22nd, 1781.

To the President and Executive Council, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania and others whom it may concern the following representation on behalf of the people called Quakers sheweth:

That the outrages and violences committed on the property and on divers of the persons of the inhabitants

of Philadelphia of our religious Society by companies of licentious people parading the streets, destroying the windows and doors of our houses, breaking into and plundering some of them on the evening of the 24th of last month increases the occasion of our present address to you who are in the exercise of the power of civil government, which is in itself honourable and originally instituted for the support of public peace and good order and the preservation of the just rights of the people.

\* \* \* \* \*

It must therefore appear strange and extraordinary in the view of candid enquirers that so evident a change and contrast have taken place, and that many who are the descendants of the first settlers professing the same religious principles and connected in interest affection and duty to the real good and welfare of our country who have never forfeited our birthright should now be vilified persecuted and excluded from our just liberties and privileges not only by laws calculated to oppress us but the execution of them in some places committed to men of avaricious profligate principles who have made a prey of the innocent and industrious to the great loss and damage of some and the almost ruin of others; scurrilous publications and other invidious means have been used by our adversaries to calumniate and reproach us with opprobrious names in order to inflame the minds of the ignorant and impose on the credulous to our prejudice, when upon an impartial candid examination we trust it will appear that in the course of the commotions which have unhappily prevailed no just cause of offence will be found against us but that we have endeavored to maintain our peaceable religious principles to preserve a good conscience toward God and to manifest our good will to all men.

\* \* \* \* \*

The dispensation of war bloodshed and calamity which hath been permitted to prevail on the Continent is very solemn and awful demanding the most serious and heartfelt attention of all ranks and denominations among the



people individually to consider and examine how far we are each of us really and sincerely engaged to bring forth fruits of true repentance and amendment of life agreeable to the spirit and doctrine of the gospel. And although we have been exposed to great abuse and unchristian treatment we wish to be enabled through the assistance of Divine Grace to cherish in ourselves and inculcate in others with whom we have an influence that disposition to forgiveness of injuries enjoined by the precept and example of Christ our Holy Lawgiver and to manifest our desires and endeavors to promote the real good of our country and that we are

Your Friends,

Notwithstanding their unpopularity they were able to report, in 1780, that "divers persons of sober conduct, professing to be convinced of our religious principles, have on their application been received into membership." In the same year they could also announce the practical success of their efforts to support their peaceable testimony; "Care is maintained to preserve our ancient testimony against bearing arms or being engaged in military services, and many have deeply suffered in the restraint of their goods and effects on this account."

They undoubtedly felt that though they had suffered much in popular esteem, they had steered through a very troubled sea of war and confusion on a straight line of principle. Their testimony against war was kept vital under con-

ditions where any weakness or compromise would have destroyed it. They had suffered for it, and had been preserved, and they felt no temptation to make any apologies, or look back with any regrets. With abundant confidence in the solidity of the ground on which they stood, they looked confidently forward to the better days of peace. Though their ranks were decimated by the "disownment" of unfaithful brethren, the testimony of the Society as a whole had been given without fear or equivocation, and already some who had left them in the moment of excitement were honestly regretful of their course, and were asking to be reunited. The years following the war were the years of the greatest increase in the number of meetings, and probably of members, which had been seen in Pennsylvania since the early years of the settlement.

On which side were Quaker sympathies during the Revolutionary war? is a question often asked. It is impossible to give a definite answer, but there are several guides on which something of a judgment may be based. About four hundred, perhaps, actively espoused the American side by joining the army, accepting positions under the revolutionary government, or taking an affirma-

tion of allegiance to it, and lost their birthright among Friends as a result. Perhaps a score in a similar way openly espoused the British cause, and also were disowned by their brethren. These numbers very likely represented proportions of silent sympathizers. The official position was one of neutrality, but individually the Friends could hardly be neutral. It seems almost certain that the men of property and social standing in Philadelphia, the Virginia exiles and their close associates, like the wealthy merchants of New York and Boston, were loyalists, though in their case passively so.\* One gets this impression from such sources as Elizabeth Drinker's Diary and certain Pemberton letters. The husband of Elizabeth Drinker was one of the exiles, and, while she writes cautiously, a careful reader can hardly doubt her bias. Many of the country

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\*In this Province—Pennsylvania—indeed, in Philadelphia, there are three persons, a Mr. W—, who is very rich and very timid; the Provost of the College, Dr. Smith, who is supposed to be distracted between a strong passion for lawn sleeves and a stronger passion for popularity, which is very necessary to support the reputation of his Episcopal College, and one Israel Pemberton, who is at the head of the Quaker interest. These three make an interest here which is lukewarm, but they are all obliged to lie low for the present.”—John Adams' Diary, Vol. I., pp. 173-174. June, 1775.

Friends were probably American in their sympathies. It is very difficult to show this conclusively, and only by slight allusions here and there is the idea gained. We do not know of any attacks upon them by the patriots, and it is likely that many of them, while too conscientious to go with their sons and brothers into the American army, held the same general opinions in favor of the cause of liberty for which they had contended so consistently since the days when David Lloyd mustered them against William Penn.

There were, therefore, a few radical Tories, a much larger number of radical Friends of the Revolution, and the rest were quiet sympathizers with one or the other party. In this diversity all the moderate men who were really desirous to be faithful to the traditional beliefs of their fathers could unite on a platform of perfect neutrality of action for conscience' sake.



## CHAPTER IX.

## THE FREE QUAKERS.

MANY of those disowned by the Society for espousing actively and sincerely the American cause were unable to ally themselves with any other religious organization. Quakerism in many essential features was so instilled into them that they took no satisfaction in the more elaborate forms which characterized other modes of formal worship.

Others were simply irreligious people who cared nothing for membership in any denomination. In a large number of cases other offences were charged against them. They were disowned for taking up arms and also for non-attendance at meetings or for improper or immoral conduct. The Society took advantage of the opportunity to separate from membership those who had not been for a long time up to its standard of life. All those who were reckless, indifferent or unfortunate, as in all times of excitement, flocked to one or the other standard, and were unceremoniously disowned. It required some self-denial and more or less of moral

courage to withstand the general unpopularity, and adhere to the policy the meeting had laid down. It will not do, therefore, to assume that all or nearly all of the separated members braved their ecclesiastical penalties in a spirit of unselfish dedication to a great cause.

There was also, especially in the beginning of the war, a number of young men who, without very profound convictions, were carried away with the contagious enthusiasm of the times, and almost before having time for second thought found themselves outside the Society.

When the war ended some of all classes, finding that their affections were still with Friends, sought to return into membership. This could only be effected by condemning the violations for which disownment had been meted out to them. Some found it possible to do this in all sincerity.

Owen Biddle was a vehement patriot, and lost his membership in 1775 for military services. Early the next year he became a member of the Board of War appointed by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and served till the Board was disbanded, seventeen months later. Three of his eight associates were also disowned Friends. Having wealth, learning and position, he was an important aid to the patriots through

the whole war. When it was over, and his cause triumphant, his thoughts underwent a revolution. James Pemberton writes of it:

However, in the midst of troubles, it is comfortable to find that some have become weary and find no rest but in returning. The instance of O. Biddle shows that miracles are not ceased. I was sensible he had long dwelt in a painful state of mind but unwilling to bow or confess; it is comfortable to hear that he hath at last; and with his stability believe he will find it better to be a door-keeper in the house of his Lord than dwell in the tents of wickedness.

Others had no inclination to apologize and return. They were perfectly satisfied with their course in serving the American cause in civil and military places, and felt that their Quakerism was not to be impeached on this account. They therefore undertook to form a new society, "The Religious Society of Friends," by some styled the "Free Quakers," as their first minute book records in February, 1781.

The central figure in the movement was Samuel Wetherill, a minister and clerk of the meeting for many years. With him were associated Timothy Matlack, a colonel in the army, and during the whole war secretary to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania; Clement Biddle, also a colonel, and quartermaster of the Revolutionary army; Christopher Marshall, whose diary

has been published, and two women, Lydia Darrach and Elizabeth Griscom, who performed peculiar services to the American cause, with a hundred or more others.

Lydia Darrach conveyed to Washington information of a plan to surprise his army. During the British occupation a company of officers were quartered at her house. She was cautioned to have all her family in bed on a certain evening, as an important conference was to be held. The injunction was observed, but she herself, quietly listening at the keyhole, heard the plans discussed for an attack on Washington the following night. Under plea of going to Frankford for flour she went on to White Marsh, where the American army was encamped, and gave timely notice. The attack was foiled, and the general, in his disappointment, strove in vain to ascertain from Lydia how the scheme reached the American general.

Elizabeth Griscom, afterwards Ross, afterwards Claypoole, lived near Second and Arch Streets, and supported herself by her needle. She made flags for the Continental Congress, and tradition says the first Stars and Stripes were made by her just before the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The order of Congress



directing her to be paid has been found. She lived till 1836, and was the last of the original Free Quakers.

The new Society in two respects was in striking contrast to the body from which its members had been ejected. No one was to be disowned for any cause. If he were erring there was so much more need for labor to restore him. He was to be encouraged in the performance of all civil and military duties for the defence of his country. The "discipline" was very brief. It allowed the largest liberty of individual thought and action, abolished all "offences" like irregular marriage, and other formalities; in case of actual immorality recognized only the responsibility to reform, and encouraged reference to the civil tribunals in case of controversies. The meetings for worship and business were to be conducted as in ancient Quaker fashion, and the general doctrines, organization and habits of living were supposed to include all that was best in Quakerism, adapted to the changes which a century had wrought in the environment of the Society. Even less prominent, however, than in the regular body, was any statement of belief, and every man was permitted to be his own creed maker.

One of their early demands was for the use of

one of the meeting-houses in the city. "We think it proper for us to use, apart from you, one of the houses built by Friends in this city. . . . We also mean to use the burial ground whenever the occasion shall require it." This paper was presented to the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, on the 27th of July, 1781, and was not even read. This being equivalent to a refusal, the Free Quakers carried the case to the Legislature of the State in a form which would be likely to ensure their success.

The sympathies of the Legislature and of the people in general were naturally with them. However, after carrying the question over for two sessions, the Assembly wisely decided not to interfere.

On the one hand it was claimed that the regular Society had no right to disown for actions sanctioned by the law of the land, and that those disowned were still in all essentials Friends, and hence entitled to a share in Quaker property; on the other hand, the right of every Society to make its own rules and enforce them when the conditions of membership were plainly stated, was strongly urged. It was claimed that in violating the known order of the church, members practically severed the bonds which attached

them to it, and by their own action excluded themselves from its benefits. The State had no right to interfere between a church organization and a member, for while liberty of conscience was a right of the individual, so freedom to make and enforce regulations was a prerogative of a society, and no individual could impose himself upon it except with its consent.

The whole controversy was not conducted in the best of temper. The official papers were faultless, but the letters of the time show the bitterness of partisan spirit so characteristic of religious differences in general.

Popular sympathy was with the new body, and the case was argued before the committee of the Assembly in the presence of a great company of interested listeners. James Pemberton describes the occasion under date of Ninth month 20th, 1782:

The committee intending to proceed on the business, first asked each party whether they were prepared; on our part they were answered that our Meeting for Sufferings, which represented our religious Society in the interval of our Yearly Meeting had appointed us a committee to attend on the occasion and having a minute of our appointment we were ready to produce it, and we requested that Howell and Matlack\* should be required to shew to the satisfaction of their committee their authority for

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\* Isaac Howell and White Matlack.

complaining and by whom they were deputed; upon which some argument ensued and S. Delany the chairman then mentioned that two petitions signed by 75 persons who had been disowned by the people called Quakers for bearing of arms had been presented to the House a few days past, and by special order was referred to the consideration of the committee, one of which he read importing "that they utterly disclaimed the proceedings of the remonstrants, were well content that the estate of friends might continue under their own direction and praying that the request of the remonstrants might not be granted and that they looked upon the attempt thus to arraign and disturb us an invasion of the rights of toleration and religious liberty; which being the voluntary act of the petitioners unsolicited by us or any of us that I know of was not unfavorable to our cause. T. M.,\* on hearing these petitions and fearing their effect made reply that if two persons only thought themselves aggrieved they had an undoubted right to redress but that he could procure many hundred to support them and that the signers to these opposite petitions might have their names inserted in the intended law to exclude them if they chose it. On our part it was further urged that the complainants ought also to make proof of the legality and justice of their claim and wherein they were aggrieved and some points of law being stated by N. W.† on the rectitude of this proceeding occasioned a debate in the committee which being in public was some disadvantage to us as they had not the opportunity of so fully discussing the matter as the nature and importance of it required, and they should therefore have considered it among themselves; however they concluded to take the opinion of the House therefore but to proceed in hearing the complainants, when we also pleaded that T. M. should show in what capacity he appeared there, whether as counsellor or advocate for the remonstrants; whether being Secretary by order of the

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\* Timothy Matlack.

† Nicholas Waln.



Executive Council or as a party, having at our last interview acknowledged before our committee that his case did not come within the meaning or intent of the bill proposed to be brought before the House when liberty for it was granted.

The committee proceeded to hear the complainants who produced several testimonies of divers monthly meetings against members disowned and some witnesses in support of the four first charges in their remonstrance, viz.: "of persons being disowned for taking the Test of Allegiance, holding of offices, bearing of arms and the payment of taxes; as the testimonies were separately read and appeared to be genuine we did not disallow them, and in general being cautiously expressed they will do us no discredit in the view of religious considerate men. On the last charge in respect to the payment of taxes their evidences were few and very feeble, the testimonies being an account of the payments of fines in lieu of personal service and are instances of a double tax and fine. They also attempted, but ineffectually to prove that some members had been urged to renounce their allegiance before a magistrate as a condition of their being reinstated in which they will appear to have failed when the case is properly stated.

The committee adjourned to meet again on Fourth-day afternoon. In the meantime they reported to the House how far they had proceeded and desired their opinion and direction of the questions proposed as before mentioned that H. and M. should prove their constituents and on what they founded their claims upon which the House determined to give no further instructions to their committee. A debate ensued again on Fourth-day morning concerning the business which held late and I suppose was earnest. In the afternoon at the time appointed our committee went up to the chamber where we found the Clerk of the Assembly only except a crowd of people who followed us. He delivered us a copy of a minute of the House notifying us that there would be no further hearing before the committee on that day and told us he had orders to deliver a like copy to the remonstrants but that the business would be again taken up by the

Assembly the same afternoon as it was accordingly and concluded to be referred over to the succeeding Assembly so that we have hereby obtained a respite unexpectedly and shall have leisure to attend to the weighty concerns of our approaching Yearly Meeting.

Several points brought out in this letter may deserve further notice.

The petition signed by seventy-five disowned Friends against disturbing the property rights of the main body is an indication that at least that many did not desire a permanent separation, which would break up the integrity of the Society; and though it was stated that a counter petition could be procured, signed by "hundreds," it is probable that not more than one hundred were actually associated in the movement. A private contemporary letter states that of the disowned Friends a majority were opposed to the action, and justified their own disownment.

From an examination of many minute books it seems probable that James Pemberton was right when he said that members were not disowned for the simple payment of taxes to the revolutionary government unless they were specifically war taxes, or were exacted in lieu of personal service. He could not be certain of this, for each Monthly Meeting all over the province was to a certain extent a law unto itself in these matters.





NICHOLAS WALN.  
FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.



The case of the regular Friends was much aided by the legal knowledge and acumen of Nicholas Waln. Before his active interest in Friendly matters he had been one of the shrewdest, the wittiest and the most successful members of the Philadelphia bar. In a public meeting he had uttered a remarkable prayer of renunciation of his past ambitions, and gave himself over to the service of his church.\*

He became exceedingly useful. It is related of him that on a certain occasion, during the Free Quaker controversy, after a statement from certain of the ejected members as to the patriotic causes of their disownment, he turned to one of them whose well-known cause of stumbling was cock-fighting, and, pointing prominently to him in silence until the attention of the whole room was obtained, said impressively, "What wast thou disowned for?" A second and a third who happened to be present, whose cases were also public, were treated in a similar way, and a marked impression was left that some at least of the complainants were not martyrs for the sake of freedom.

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\* A mutilated edition of this prayer is, in Dr. Mitchell's novel, "Hugh Wynne," placed in the mouth of a mythical personage named Israel Sharpless.

The Assembly took no final action, but referred the matter to the succeeding session. In the meantime something of a conservative reaction had come over the country. John Dickinson was elected President of Pennsylvania after his period of unpopularity and practical banishment to Delaware, and the new Assembly was moderate. Timothy Matlack had lost his political influence. The question was evidently one over which a legislative body found it very inconvenient to exercise jurisdiction, for a decision would have far-reaching consequences, and the matter was allowed to drop.

The Free Quakers had to look to their own exertions to provide a meeting-house. A lot was purchased at the southwest corner of Arch and Fifth Streets, and a building erected, which is still standing, and which bears upon it the inscription:

By general Subscription  
For the Free Quakers, erected  
In the year of our Lord 1783  
Of the Empire 8.

It is said that when asked the meaning of the last line one of them replied, "I tell thee, Friend, it is because our country is destined to be the great empire over all this world."



FREE QUAKERS' MEETING-HOUSE.  
FIFTH AND ARCH STREETS, PHILADELPHIA.





The subscription did not cause much difficulty. There was general sympathy with the patriotic Quakers, and Washington and Franklin, with many other prominent sympathizers, contributed to the building. Meetings for worship were held in it till 1836. It is now rented, and the proceeds used for charitable purposes.

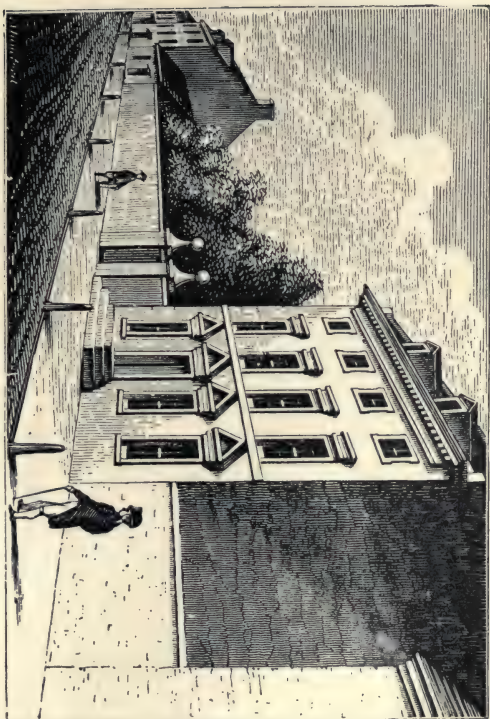
Many of those who in the days of military excitement joined in the movement, afterwards returned to their original fold. Some joined other religious bodies. The Free Quakers gradually diminished in numbers, and when the meeting-house closed, practically ceased to exist as a religious body. The descendants of the original members, perhaps one hundred and fifty in number, still maintain their organization, hold a Yearly Meeting, and quietly distribute the income in educational and charitable work.

As a peaceful government extended its sway over the independent United States, the asperities of feeling which had belonged to the revolutionary era subsided. The conscientiousness which had characterized many Friends in their refusal to bear arms for the American cause was more and more recognized. Their faithfulness as members of society in the performance of their civic duties, their justice and kindliness,

their quiet attention to duty and lack of desire for selfish preferment, made their rulers feel that if they would not fight for or against government, they possessed other qualities which made them valuable citizens. When Washington—of whom they always spoke with great respect, and who appreciated them far better than did those militant civilians, the Adamses of Massachusetts—became President, in 1789, they sent to him a deputation with the following address:

Being met in our annual assembly for the well ordering of the affairs of our religious Society and the promotion of universal righteousness our minds have been drawn to consider that the Almighty who ruleth in Heaven and in the kingdoms of men having permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country, we are fervently concerned that the rulers of the people may be favored with the council of God; the only sure means to enable them to fill the important trust committed to their charge and in an especial manner that Divine wisdom and grace vouchsafed from above may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station to which thou art appointed.

We are sensible thou hast obtained a great place in the esteem and affection of people of all denominations over whom thou presidest, and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord's honor and service, that thus thou mayst be a happy instrument in his hands for the suppression of vice infidelity and irreligion and every species of oppression on the persons or concerns of men, so that righteousness and peace which truly exalt a nation may prevail throughout the land as the only solid foundation that can be laid for prosperity and happiness.



HOUSE OCCUPIED BY GEORGE WASHINGTON WHEN PRESIDENT.  
HIGH (NOW MARKET) STREET, ONE DOOR EAST OF SIXTH.





The free toleration which the citizens of these States enjoy, in the public worship of the Almighty agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings and we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in matters of faith and practice, believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright-hearted of all nations, kingdoms and peoples so we trust we may justly claim it from others;—with a full persuasion that the Divine principle we profess leads into harmony and concord we can take no part in warlike measures on any occasion or under any power, but we are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives in godliness and honesty among men, contributing freely our proportion to the indigencies of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government; acknowledging those that rule well to be worthy of double honor—having never been chargeable from our first establishment as a religious Society with fomenting or countenancing tumults or conspiracies, or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time or patience nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any. But as we are a people whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced we take the liberty to assure thee that we feel our hearts affectionately drawn towards thee and those in authority over us with prayers that thy presidency may under the blessing of Heaven be productive of morality and true religion and that Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our land with a propitious eye, and bless the inhabitants with the continuance of peace, the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth and enable us gratefully to acknowledge these manifold mercies.

And it is our earnest concern that he may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory, and that finally when all terrestrial honors shall pass away thou and thy respectable consort may be found worthy to receive a

crown of unfading righteousness in the mansions of peace and joy forever.

NICHOLAS WALN, Clerk.

To this Washington replied:

Gentlemen:

I received with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration and for my personal happiness. We have reason to rejoice in the prospect that the national government, which by the power of Divine Providence was formed by the common councils and peaceably established by the common consent of the people will prove a blessing to every denomination of them; to render it such my best endeavors will not be wanting. Government being among other purposes instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression it certainly is the duty of rulers not only to abstain from it themselves but according to their stations to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences is not only among the choicest of their blessings but also of their rights. While men perform their social duties faithfully they do all that society or the State can with propriety expect or demand and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or mode of faith which they may prefer or profess. Your principles and conduct are well known to me, and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say that (except their declining to share with others in the burthens of common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens. I assure you very especially that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire that the laws may always be extensively accommodated to them as a due regard to the protection and essential interest of the nation may justify and permit.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

With this exchange of letters—on the one hand attesting fidelity to the existing administration, and on the other carrying a strong endorsement of the principles which had guided the past—the reconciliation between the Quakers and the government, which revolutionary events had somewhat strained, may be considered to have been perfectly accomplished.

## CHAPTER X.

## FRIENDS AND SLAVERY.

The Revolutionary War had for the time being almost destroyed the influence of Friends over the politics of the State they had founded and so long controlled. They had opposed a war which was waged in support of independence and which had been successful. It is true that the principles upon which they based their conduct had not been especially devised for the emergency, but had been firmly and clearly enunciated through one hundred years of history. The course they took might properly have been expected of them by those who had been familiar with the record of their past. But to many in the nation these principles came as revelations of a new and dangerous tendency, developing a course of action entirely unequal to the emergencies to which any government might be exposed. To others the Quakers seemed to be cowards or fanatics or hypocrites, or seekers after wealth and ease.

None of these cared to see the Quakers restored to the position of influence they had held before



the war. Many felt that they had an unsettled grudge against them for their refusal to aid in the great struggle. The heroes of the war took, by virtue of the popular voice, the positions of honor and profit.

Nor did the Quakers seem to wish it otherwise. They had had enough of government. The movement which began in 1756 against holding compromising offices gradually extended itself to avoid official connection with the State. This tendency was strengthened in the minds of the more strenuous Friends by the events of the war, and when, after a decade of peace, there seemed a disposition to turn again to Friends to find representatives in the Pennsylvania legislature, the Yearly Meeting, in 1791, advised:

The concern and exercise which formerly attended the minds of Friends of this meeting respecting accepting of posts either in legislative or executive government or promoting the choice of members of our religious Society to such stations or mixing with others in their human policy and contrivance, being now revived, and the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting in 1758, '62, '63, '64 and '70 being read, they were recommended to the observance of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings and of Friends in general, and it is directed that the said advices be read in said meetings.

In one direction, however, they felt they had an especial duty to the State and the nation.

The last slaves held by Pennsylvania Quakers were manumitted, wherever legally possible, about the time of the battle of Yorktown.

It had taken one hundred years of agitation to bring about this result. The German Quakers of Germantown had protested in 1688: "There is a liberty of conscience here which is right and reasonable, and there ought to be likewise liberty of the body, except for evil doers, which is another case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against." From that time on the movement for abolition had advanced.\* In 1696 the Yearly Meeting advised not "to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes, and that such as have negroes be careful of them."

The Friends of Chester County were particularly urgent, and ceased not to press the matter on the attention of the Yearly Meeting. In 1711 they reported that "their meeting was dissatisfied with Friends buying and encouraging the bringing of negroes." The next year they asked that London Yearly Meeting, as the cen-

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\*A full history of this movement among Friends over the continent will be found in detail in the publications of the American Society of Church History, vol. viii., written by Allen Clapp Thomas.

tral body, do something to bring about some concerted action of all Friends the world over. But London was not ready, and in 1714 Philadelphia returns to the matter:

We also kindly received your advice about negro slaves, and we are one with you that the multiplying of them may be of a dangerous consequence, and therefore a law was made in Pennsylvania, laying twenty pounds duty upon every one imported there, which law the Queen was pleased to disannul. We could heartily wish that a way might be found to stop the bringing in more here; or at least, that Friends may be less concerned in buying or selling of any that may be brought in; and hope for your assistance with the government if any farther law should be made discouraging the importation. We know not of any Friend amongst us that has any hand or concern in bringing any out of their own country; and we are of the same mind with you, that the practice is not commendable nor allowable amongst Friends; and we take the freedom to acquaint you, that our request unto you was, that you would be pleased to consult or advise with Friends in other plantations, where they are more numerous than with us; because they hold a correspondence with you but not with us, and your meeting may better prevail with them, and your advice prove more effectual.

In 1715, and again in 1716, the Chester Friends return to the charge: "The buying and selling of negroes gives great encouragement for bringing them in." To this the Yearly Meeting would only reply advising its members to avoid such purchases, and added: "This is only caution, not censure."

Matters stood until 1729, when again, in response to another request from Chester, the meeting minuted "that Friends ought to be very cautious of making any such purchase for the future, it being disagreeable to the sense of this meeting." Advices to this effect were now given almost yearly, and in 1743 the following was added to the Queries: "Do Friends observe the former advice of our Yearly Meeting not to encourage the importation of negroes nor to buy them after imported?" which, a few years later was strengthened into "Are Friends clear of importing or buying negroes, and do they use those well which they are possessed of by inheritance or otherwise, endeavoring to train them up in the principles of the Christian religion?"

Thus the sentiment against slavery was fostered, and in 1758 the Yearly Meeting was brought to decisive action. After rejecting several compromises, tending to limit the advice as heretofore to the slave trade, the adopted minute stood: "This meeting fervently desires . . . that we would steadily observe the injunction of our Lord and Master to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, which it now appears unto this meeting would induce such Friends who have slaves to set them at liberty,



making a Christian provision for them according to their ages." A committee was appointed, with John Woolman at its head, to extend Christian advice to slaveholders and persuade them to release their slaves.

For twenty years after this date there are many records on the minutes of monthly meeting of voluntary or persuaded manumissions. They were made individually matters of record, to prevent the same negro ever again being seized.

Some, however, held out, and in 1775, in the midst of the throes of the outbreaking war, the meeting decided it had waited long enough: "Such members as continued to hold slaves are to be testified against as other transgressors are by the rules of our Discipline for other immoral, unjust and reproachful conduct." This was an instruction to the monthly meetings to take up each case individually, and, after careful labor and much persuasion, if he still remained recalcitrant, to disown him from the Society. This was done in some refractory cases. Others were complicated. Slaves were owned by minors; or husband and wife were not both members, and legal manumission could not be obtained, or other perplexing questions had to be settled:

Most of the Friends appointed to inquire into the circumstances of several negro slaves on whom it is thought J—— M—— had a claim, report they have done accordingly, and are informed that his brother S—— M——, deceased, by his last will gave the remainder of his estate to him after the bills and legacies were paid and appointed him executor of his will, and that his said brother had two negro men and one negro boy slaves, but that he had not taken upon him the administration of the estate, and did not intend to do it on account of the negroes. They advised him that in case administration should be granted to another person and there should be other estate enough to pay the debts and legacies (which he seemed not to doubt of) that he should discharge the administrator from the negroes and set them free, otherwise if they should be sold to pay debts and legacies, and he receive the remainder of the estate he would be the cause of their continuation in bondage, which advice being considered is approved of.

Faithfully and patiently the work was performed, and the end of the war saw the end of slavery in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and the voluntary compensation of many slaves for their labor while in bondage. This was advised in 1779: "The state of the oppressed people who have been held by any of us in captivity and slavery, calls for a deep inquiry and close examination how far we are clear of withholding from them what, under such an exercise, may open to view as their just right." Arbitrators decided the amount, and the former slaveholders liquidated an undemanded debt.

The work was going on contemporaneously,

and at about the same rate, in the other Yearly Meetings. In the South the difficulties were far greater, mainly because the local laws forbade manumission. In some cases the expedient was resorted to of transferring them to the meetings, which arranged for their collective migration. Thousands of Southern Quakers removed to Ohio and Indiana to escape the blight of slavery. By 1790 slavery was at an end among the Friends of the United States, except in the few exceptional cases described above, and every Quaker was an abolitionist.

They had not waited till this time, however, to urge upon legislative bodies the duty of abolishing first the slave trade, then slavery.

William Penn was somewhat chagrined that when, in 1700, he and the Council proposed a law "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages," it was rejected by the Assembly. This was at the time when anti-Proprietary feeling was strong, and the Delaware assemblymen were members of the body.

In 1705 the House again showed its animus by passing severe laws inflicting capital punishment against negroes guilty of certain heinous crimes, which were not capital crimes when committed by the whites. In the same year they

taxed the owners of imported negroes forty shillings per head. This tax was again levied in 1710, but repealed by the Queen in Council in 1714.

In 1712, William Southeby, a Friend, prayed the legislature to abolish slavery in Pennsylvania. The House decided that this could not be granted. The same year, in response to many demands, they passed a bill levying the prohibitory duty of twenty pounds on every negro imported. This was also repealed by the Queen in Council.

Various similar attempts at restrictive duties were made, to be met by the English veto, until, in 1729, one of two pounds was allowed to stand. This existed to 1761, when Friends secured its increase to ten pounds, against the petition of Philadelphia merchants, who declared that the trade of the Province was greatly hindered by the scarcity of laborers, and who wished to encourage the importation of negroes. This nearly stopped the trade, and as Friends were all the time freeing their own negroes, the number of slaves in the Province was greatly decreased. In 1773 the duty was made twenty pounds, and in 1780 "an act for the gradual abolition of slavery" was passed.



President Reed said, in commending the law to the Assembly: "Honored will that state be, in the annals of history, which shall first abolish this violation of the rights of mankind, and the memories of those will be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance who shall pass the law to restore and establish the rights of human nature in Pennsylvania."

This, the first abolition act of America, probably drawn up by George Bryan, decreed that all negro children born after the first of March, 1780, might be held to service until the age of twenty-one years, and no longer. There never were many slaves in Pennsylvania. Under the effect of the law the number decreased from about four thousand to about two hundred in 1820.

While the educative influence of Friends had had much effect in shaping public opinion in Pennsylvania, and their past efforts had reduced greatly the pro-slavery interest of the Province, they were hardly in a condition to exert much weight directly for this act. They were at their lowest point in popular estimation, and their advocacy of a measure would not be any great aid to its passage. It must have been with great

satisfaction, however, that they viewed this triumph of the principles of freedom.

Having extinguished slavery among themselves, and seen the slave trade dead and slavery dying in their own state, the Friends of Pennsylvania turned their attention to the nation at large, and in 1783 addressed the impotent Congress of the Confederation:

To the United States in Congress Assembled. The Address of the People called Quakers:

Being through the favor of Divine providence met as usual at this season in our annual assembly, to promote the cause of piety and virtue we find with great satisfaction our well meant endeavors for the relief of an oppressed part of our fellow men have been so far blessed, that those of them who have been held in bondage by members of our religious Society are generally restored to freedom, their natural and just right.

Commiserating the afflicted state with which the inhabitants of Africa are very deeply involved by many professors of the mild and benign doctrines of the Gospel, and afflicted with a sincere concern for the essential good of our country, we conceive it our indispensable duty to revive in your view the lamentable grievance of that oppressed people as an interesting subject, evidently claiming the serious attention of those who are entrusted with the powers of government as guardians of the common rights of mankind and advocates for liberty.

We have long beheld with sorrow the complicated evils produced by an unrighteous commerce which subjects many thousands of the human species to the deplorable state of slavery.

The restoration of peace and restraint to the effusion of human blood, we are persuaded excite in the minds of many of all the Christian denominations gratitude and thank-





A View of the New Market from the Corner of Shippen & Second Streets, Portland,  
1857



fulness to the allwise Controller of human events, but we have ground to fear that some, forgetful of the days of distress are prompted by an avaricious motive to renew the trade for slaves to the African coast, contrary to every humane and righteous consideration, and in opposition to the solemn declarations often repeated in favor of universal liberty; thereby increasing the too general torrent of corruption and licentiousness, and laying a foundation for future calamities.

We therefore earnestly solicit your Christian interposition to discourage and prevent so obscene an evil, in such manner as under the influence of Divine wisdom you shall see meet.

Signed in and on behalf of our Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, Fourth-day of Tenth month, 1783, by five hundred and thirty-five Friends.

Nothing, however, could be expected from the Continental Congress, which had outlived its best days, and had never had any real power. But when the administration of Washington was securely seated, on the 3d of October, 1789, they sent an urgent address, signed by Nicholas Waln, clerk. In this they reiterated their belief that the Golden Rule was the only safe guide in national affairs; they called attention to their address of six years before, which, though it had apparently slumbered in Congress, had been followed by action in a number of states; they expressed the opinion that the enormities of the slave trade called for its abolition at the earliest possible moment.

This address was taken to New York, where Congress was then in session, by a large committee, and was reinforced by another from New York Yearly Meeting of Friends. The report the next year tells the story, so far as the actions of the committee were concerned:

Eleven of our number, joined by our Friend John Parrish, met at New York about the time prefixed by the Meeting for Sufferings and previous to our presenting the same, took opportunities with divers members of that body, in order to prepare their minds, also attended the Meetings for Sufferings there, and opened our business, which meeting uniting therein, drew up a short address on the same subject, acknowledging their concurrence with us, and appointed a committee to join. We then in conjunction, presented the two addresses, which were read, and a committee appointed out of the House of Representatives, to consider them, after which we proceeded to visit the members generally, both Senators and Representatives, and were by many respectfully received, and had very free and full opportunities with them, and were also notified by the Committee of Congress of the time of their meeting with liberty to attend and open before them what to us appeared necessary. This we did at different times and found them very open, and notwithstanding from the first introduction of those addresses there were some members much opposed throughout, yet on the whole we were satisfied that a large majority were favorably disposed toward this business. This evidently appeared by the votes of the House, which some of our number found themselves engaged to attend, till the subject was more fully investigated, and the report of their select committee with the alterations of the committee of the whole House were entered on the journals of Congress, when way appeared open to leave the subject for the present in a state ready to be called up at any future time, and which subject we

apprehend to be weighty requiring the further continued care and concern of the Yearly Meeting.

PHILADELPHIA, Ninth Month 30th, 1790.

The reception of this address opened the first of the long line of acrimonious slavery debates, which lasted for seventy years. The arguments on either side of the great question which afterwards so emphatically divided the Union were enumerated in embryo, and the hot feeling which accompanied the discussion of the subject in later years here shows its dawning. As a side light we have evidence both of the enmity and the respect felt towards the Quakers by the different elements of the population eight years after the close of the war.

The debate began by the usual motion, made by Hartley, of Pennsylvania, to refer the address to a committee; he thought it a mark of respect due to so numerous and respectable a part of the community.

The Southern members, Smith, of South Carolina, and Jackson, of Georgia, opposed this unusual proceeding. Madison, of Virginia, called attention to the fact that the Constitution forbade all interference with the slave trade prior to 1808, and argued that no commitment could possibly affect the question, and he was therefore in

favor of it. Stone, of Maryland, and Burke, of South Carolina, while respecting the Quakers, did not think they possessed more virtue than other people, and thought that the other side should be presented, and then all referred together. It would injure the value of slave property to have it made the subject of special inquiry in this way.

Other Southern members saw in this movement but a prelude to an attack on slavery itself. Nor did the Quakers deserve any special consideration. "Is the whole morality of the United States confined to the Quakers?" asked Jackson. "Are they the only people whose feelings are to be consulted on the present occasion? Is it to them we owe our present happiness? Was it they who formed the Constitution? Did they by their arms or contributions establish our independence? I believe they were generally opposed to that measure."

The matter went over. The next day the address was reinforced by a petition from the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, signed by the venerable Dr. Franklin, as President. The debate went on, however, on the commitment of the Quaker address.



Scott, of Pennsylvania, regretted that the abolition of the slave trade was prohibited by the Constitution; he looked upon it as one of the most abominable things on earth, nor could he conceive how one person could have a right of property in another. If he were a judge he did not know how far he could go in the direction of emancipation, but he would go as far as he could.

Jackson found a warrant for slavery in the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and in all history. If he (Scott) were a Federal judge he might not know how far he could go, but his judgment would be of short duration in Georgia. Perhaps even the existence of such a judge might be in danger.

Much stress was laid by the Southerners on the constitutional inability to grant the petition, and the consequent folly of committing it, to which it was replied that the commitment was only for purposes of discussion, and that from the Southern standpoint a quiet acquiescence would have saved all the discussion, which they deprecated. The motion to commit was carried, 43 to 14.

Five weeks later the House resolved itself into

a committee of the whole to discuss the report of the committee.

The report stated the limited power of Congress in dealing with the traffic; that it could not prohibit the trade prior to 1808; that it could not decree emancipation, nor interfere in the general treatment of slaves in the States; that it had a right to lay a tax of ten dollars on importations and to regulate the African trade so as to secure humane treatment of the negroes; and finally it assured the memorialists that so far as its powers could go, it would endeavor to exercise them in the interests of justice, humanity and good policy.

A fierce debate immediately ensued. White and Brown, of Virginia, were opposed to some parts of the report as unnecessary, to other parts as mischievous. The interposition of the Quakers in the affairs of the Southern States had made slave property very precarious, and they hoped that Congress would not precipitate this great injury in order to gratify people who had never been friendly to the independence of America.

The Quakers, said Burke, of South Carolina, were not the friends of freedom; in the late war they favored bringing this country under a

foreign yoke; they descended to the character of spies; they supplied the enemy with provisions; they were guides and conductors to the British armies; and whenever the American army came into their neighborhood they found themselves in the enemy's country. Here Burke was called to order.

His colleague, Smith, took up his parable, and called attention to the publication of 1775, "The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the Quakers," in which they said that it was not their province to set up and pull down governments—that was God's prerogative; they were to pray for those in authority and live a peaceable life under them. Why did they not leave this matter also to God? They evidently did not believe what they professed, or else they had not virtue to practice what they believed. It was difficult to credit their pretended scruples, because while they were exclaiming against the mammon of this world they were hunting after it with a step as steady as time and an appetite as keen as the grave.

He appealed to Congress to allow each section to attend to its own abuses. The Southern people saw many evils in the North, but they let them alone. Each was aware of the existence

of weaknesses in the other when they formed the Union. The wise men of the North knew that slavery was ineradicably ingrafted upon the South, and the Southerners knew that Quaker doctrines had taken such deep root that resistance to them would be useless. "We took each other with our mutual bad habits and respective evils, for better, for worse; the Northern States adopted us with our slaves, and we adopted them with their Quakers." He argued that slavery was a necessity to South Carolina; no other form of labor was possible. The slaves would leave all the low land as soon as emancipated, and rice and indigo would no more be raised. Commerce and manufactures would suffer the country over.

The slave trade was too valuable to be abused. Men would not destroy their own property, nor did slavery debase the owners. Witness the noble hospitality, the art, enterprise and ingenuity, the genuine love of freedom, which prompted all the sacrifices of the war, of South Carolina.

The Quakers found a defender in Boudinot, of New Jersey. He was in favor of the resolutions, and thought an explicit declaration of the powers of Congress ought to allay rather than



excite fears. The ill treatment of the poor negroes on shipboard was no fiction. He quoted Anthony Benezet's writings, and said he himself had verified them by personal inquiry. He had little respect for the Biblical and historical arguments adduced. It is true the Egyptians held the Israelites in bondage, and he supposed supported the practice by the same arguments as the Southerners to-day. But God delivered them, and He is the same. He knew the Quakers. He was Commissary-General during the war, and he knew how much their voluntary care of the suffering had relieved the situation. Some of them opposed the Revolution—so did individual Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and members of almost every other body; while the Quakers gave the patriot cause a Greene and a Mifflin.

The resolutions, after being amended by large omissions, were carried against the Southerners by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-five. The signing of the memorial of the Pennsylvania Society was almost the last act of the life of Dr. Franklin. He died very soon after the vote. His Society, having received the answer "that Congress had no right to interfere in the emancipation of slaves or their treatment in any

of the States," sent in no more petitions, confining its efforts to purely philanthropic labors.

In the second Congress, the declaration made in 1790 that the Government had power to mitigate the evils of the slave trade, brought in a multitude of petitions from the North. They were, however, all smothered without debate, except one from Warner Mifflin. He had freed his own slaves on his Delaware plantation, and had made ample provision for their maintenance. He now sent a memorial to Congress asking the United States to do likewise. It was presented by Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, who disavowed any sympathy with the petition, and considered it inexpedient to bring the subject up. But he recognized the right of the memorialist to be heard. The Southerners were immediately in arms. Such things did immense mischief in the South, and did not ameliorate the condition of the negroes. They should not be presented to the House, and such summary action should be taken as to convince all enthusiasts that the subject would never be considered. To this the House apparently agreed. On motion it was resolved "that the paper purporting

to be a petition from Warner Mifflin be returned to him by the clerk of the House."

Spurred by the Haytien revolution, Congress acted favorably on a Quaker petition to prohibit the carrying of slaves from the United States to the West Indies, with large penalties for its evasion. But when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1797, again appealed to them, the discussion opened as fiercely as ever. The memorial itself, like all Quaker papers, was quiet and moderate:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:—

The memorial and address of the people called Quakers from their Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia by adjournments from the 25th of the Ninth Month to the 29th of the same inclusive, 1797.

Respectfully sheweth:

That being concerned at this our Annual Solemnity for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, we have been favored to experience religious weight to attend our minds, and an anxious desire to follow after those things which make for peace; among other investigations, the oppressed state of our brethren of the African race has been brought into view and particularly the circumstances of one hundred and thirty-four in North Carolina, and many others whose cases have not so fully come to our knowledge, who were set free by members of our religious Society and again reduced to cruel bondage, under the authority of existing or retrospective laws. Husbands and wives and children separated one from another, which we apprehend to be an abominable tragedy; and with other

acts of a similar nature practised in other States has a tendency to bring down the judgments of a righteous God upon our land.

This city and neighborhood and some other parts have been visited with an awful calamity, which ought to excite an inquiry into the cause and endeavors to do away those things which occasion the heavy clouds that hang over us. It is easy with the Almighty to bring down the loftiness of men by diversified judgments and to make them bear the Rod and Him that hath appointed it.

We wish to revive in your view the solemn engagement of Congress, made in the year 1774, as follows:

"And therefore we do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several Colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of our country, as follows:

"Second Article. We will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

"Third Article. And will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing and all kinds of gambling, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

This was a solemn league and covenant made with the Almighty in an hour of distress, and He is now calling upon you to perform and fulfill it, but how has this solemn covenant been contravened by the wrongs and cruelties practised upon the poor African race,—the increase of dissipation and luxury, the countenance and encouragement given to play-houses and other vain amusements, and how grossly is the Almighty affronted on the day of the celebration of Independence! What rioting and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness! to the great grief of sober inhabitants and the disgrace of our national character.

National evils produce national judgments. We there-



fore fervently pray the Governor of the universe may enlighten your understanding and influence your minds so as to engage you to use every exertion in your power to have these things redressed.

With sincere desires for your happiness here and hereafter, and that when you come to close this life, you may individually be able to appeal as a Ruler did formerly, "Remember now O Lord I beseech thee how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight," we remain your friends and fellow citizens.

Signed in and on behalf of the said Meeting.

JONATHAN EVANS,

Clerk to the Meeting this year.

The Memorial was presented by Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, who, after its reading by the clerk moved its second reading. Harper, of South Carolina, hoped not. This was not the first, second or third time the House had been troubled with similar petitions, which tended to incite the slaves to freedom; this and all other legislatures ought to set their faces strongly against such remonstrances.

Thatcher, of Massachusetts, took the opposite view. If the Quakers thought themselves aggrieved it was their duty to present the petition seventy times, or until it was attended to.

Rutledge, of South Carolina, would not object to the commitment of the petition if the committee would properly censure it. The body

which sent this petition should be censured. They had attempted to seduce the servants of gentlemen traveling to the seat of government. They were importuning Congress to interfere in a business which was none of their concern. But, not believing that such a censure would result, he would be in favor of laying the petition on the table, or under the table, to have done with the business to-day and forever. When other nations were plunging in blood, here were these people trying to stir up a servile insurrection.

To this Gallatin replied that the memorial was only taking the ordinary course. It called attention to certain free blacks afterwards enslaved in North Carolina. He did not think this was of a tendency dangerous to property or civil order. The moral character of the memorialists was such that he believed they were not friends to any kind of disorder. The uncertainty as to what could be done was the very reason for commitment.

Macon, of North Carolina, wished that all blacks were out of the country, and so did every gentleman in his State. He considered the Quakers not peacemakers, but thought they were continually endeavoring in the Southern

States to stir up insurrection among the negroes. They were Tories in the war, and only began to set their negroes free when the State law prohibited it. The petition was only to sow dissension.

The Friends found a defender in Bayard, of Delaware. He believed they were respectable and obedient, and contributed cheerfully to the support of government. The petition ought to be committed out of respect to them, though he believed the Congress had, contrary to the claims of other gentlemen, authority over the case of these free negroes relegated to slavery.

Nicholas, of Virginia, would be glad to have slavery investigated. He thought it would help it. The Southerners were unfortunate in having to hold slaves, but they did not wish to cover up any evils. He was in favor of commitment.

Blount, of North Carolina, explained how the freed negroes had been re-enslaved in a perfectly legal and proper way.

So the debate continued, a general disposition appearing in the Virginia representatives and all further North to admit the iniquity of slavery, the desirability of inquiring into its operations, and of abolishing the foreign trade as soon as they constitutionally could. Georgia and the two Carolinas were violently opposed to all action

except summary dismissal of the memorial, and could feel no respect for the memorialists, who were sitting in the gallery in a body while the debate went on.

At the final vote no opposition appeared to the commitment.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to carry the history of the relation of Friends to slavery into the present century. They were constant in their opposition to it, and the ranks of the Pennsylvania abolitionists were largely filled with them. As violence increased on both sides and war loomed up in the foreground, many of them began to deprecate the radical views of the extremists as to the proper methods to employ, but to a man they opposed slavery. And when war came, a war on an evil against which they were committed by every item of their history and every instinct of their religion, they could not join in it, but they could thankfully say, in the spirit of Southeby, Woolman, Benezet and Mifflin, and in the words of their own poet,

LAUS DEO.

It is done!

Clang of bell and roar of gun,  
Send the tidings up and down.

How the belfries rock and reel;  
How the great guns, peal on peal,  
Fling the joy from town to town!



Ring, O, bells!  
Every stroke exultant tells  
Of the burial hour of crime.  
Loud and long, that all may hear;  
Ring, for every listening ear,  
Of eternity and time!

Let us kneel;  
God's own voice is in that peal,  
And this spot is holy ground.  
Lord forgive us! What are we  
That our eyes this glory see,  
That our ears have heard the sound!

## CHAPTER XI.

FRIENDS WHO HAVE BEEN PROMINENT IN PUBLIC  
LIFE SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

The tendency to non-participation in public affairs, which first showed itself about the middle of the eighteenth century, was, as we have seen, strengthened by the Revolution. For a time Friends had but little share in official life. This was not only the will of their fellow-citizens, but their own wish as well. The more intelligent people of the State soon, however, saw the evil effects of this estrangement and sought to end it. The reasons for the Quaker course during the Revolution came to be better understood and appreciated, and it was seen that the same principles would make them most loyal subjects of the new Republic. In some sections around Philadelphia it was, moreover, exceedingly difficult to procure fit officials, so largely were the men of training and integrity within the ranks of the Society.

An excellent, because unbiased, authority concerning the political condition of Friends

shortly after the Revolution is a book\* by an intelligent Frenchman who traveled through the country in 1788.

It was at this epoch [the Revolution] particularly that an animosity was excited against them [the Quakers] which is not yet entirely allayed. Faithful to their religious principles, they declared they could take no part in the war, and disavowed or excommunicated every member of their Society who served with either the American or the British army. . . . Notwithstanding *my* principles, I do not the less think that the violent persecution of the Quakers for their pacific neutrality was essentially wrong.

If their refusal had been the first of this kind; if it had been dictated solely by their attachment to the British cause; if it had only served them to conceal the secret proofs which they might have given of this attachment, certainly they had been culpable and perhaps persecution had been lawful. But this neutrality was enjoined upon them by the religious opinions which they profess, and which they have practised from their origin. But exclusive of this, whatever prejudiced or ill-informed writers may have asserted, the truth, which I have taken great pains to obtain, is that the majority of the Quakers did not incline more to one party than to the other; and that they did good indifferently to both, and in fact to all those who stood in need of assistance. If some of the Society of Quakers served in the British army, there were some likewise who served in the American army—and amongst others may be mentioned the names of Generals Greene,

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\*“Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-unis de l’Amerique Septentrionale fait en 1788 ; par J. P. Brissot (Warville), Citoyen Francais.” The portion here translated is omitted in the English edition of 1792. See Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania, Vol. VIII., page 315.

Mifflin and Lacy; but the Society excommunicated indifferently all those who took up arms. . . .

I have heard no one speak more impartially of the Quakers than this celebrated man [Washington] whose spirit of justice is particularly remarkable. He acknowledged to me that in the course of the war he had entertained an unfavorable opinion of the Society; he, in fact, knew little of them, because at that period there were few members of the sect in Virginia. He attributed to their political sentiments what was the effect of their religious principles. When he encamped in Chester county, principally inhabited by Quakers, he supposed himself to be in the enemy's country, as he could not induce a single Quaker to act for him in the character of a spy. But no one served as a spy against him in the employ of the British army. . . .

General Washington, having since better understood the spirit of the Society, concludes by esteeming them. He acknowledged to me that, on considering the simplicity of their manners, their fondness for economy, the excellence of their morals, and the good example they afforded, joined to the attachment they showed for the Constitution, he regarded them as the best citizens of the new government, which required a great degree of obedience and the banishment of luxury.

Under these circumstances political preference was difficult for loyal Friends. Individuals of character and moral purpose had, however, their influence upon public opinion, whether in office or out. As time wore on and asperities lessened, Friends, as they had capacities for public service, were called upon to occupy positions of trust and influence in politics, in philan-



thropy, and in movements for social and moral reform. Later still, the intricacies of political machinery and the self-seeking and immoral means used to secure nominations and carry elections, have deterred many from taking up the career of politicians.

It is proposed in the present chapter to trace the lives of a few Friends who in each of these stages have borne the Society name into public life.

WARNER MIFFLIN.—Perhaps no one is more typical of the position taken by public-spirited Friends about Revolutionary times than Warner Mifflin, whose name has already appeared on these pages. It may be denied that he belongs at all to the class of public-spirited Friends, for he held but one political office. He was Justice of the Peace for one term; and though he performed the duties faithfully, he never felt at home in them. Other offers came to him, for he was a man of family and financial standing; but he declined them all. Yet he had great influence,—if not in partisan politics, in the larger field of public policy.

The French traveler quoted above says:

I was sick, and Warner Mifflin came to see me. It is he

who first freed all his slaves ; it is he who, without a passport, traversed the British army and spoke to General Howe with so much firmness and dignity ; it is he who, fearing not the effects of the general hatred against the Quakers, went at the risk of being treated as a spy to present himself to General Washington to justify to him the conduct of the Quakers ; it is he who, amid the furies of the war, equally a friend to the French, the English and the Americans, carried generous succor to those among them who were suffering. Well, this angel of peace came to see me.

He was a man whose pure ideals of living, supersensitiveness to conscientious impulses and willingness to make personal sacrifices, remind one of his co-laborer, John Woolman. But he had larger ideas than John Woolman. He was a broad-thinking patriot, conscious of the call to public as well as denominational service, and of the responsibility for the performance of his full duties to the state. With fidelity he followed the promptings of his inward divine guide, that led him into a field of labor which made his influence felt in legislative halls and executive mansions. Few men have been more abused than he, and at the time few received less credit for successful effort, or cared less for it.

He inherited a large plantation with a number of slaves on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. He inherited also birthright membership

in the Society of Friends, though sixty miles distant from any others of that profession. Before he reached majority he had determined not to be a slaveholder, and as soon as he had a separate establishment he freed all of his own and his wife's slaves. His father soon followed him, and in the midst of one of the oldest and most confirmed slaveholding communities of the South these men bore a suffering testimony to freedom. He paid back to his ex-slaves the value of their labor after twenty-one years of age; he loaned them money to secure land and implements; he refused to be executor of an estate which involved the selling of negroes; and he was ready to enter heartily into the desire of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, of which he was a member, to have its skirts cleared of slaveholding, and was gratified to see the efforts succeed.

He had not recovered from the obloquy which his course had brought upon him at the hands of his neighbors, when a new scruple of conscience came to trouble him. In accordance with the customs of the times, he "kept the bottle and the bowl on the table from morning till night," and generously dispensed the contents to his laborers. This he now felt to be wrong. He had freed his slaves, and feared that without liquor he could

not secure help to harvest his grain. But conscience triumphed, and intoxicants departed.

All of this was before the Revolution. When the war opened he was held as a Tory, and this was an additional burden. He was an ultra peace man, refusing to aid in any way a government at war, even to the extent of using the paper money of the Continental Congress. It required no little courage to live out in a hostile community these successive unpopular customs, and his property and even his life were in danger; but he was preserved by the singular purity and quietness of his life, which disarmed opposition. "If everything we possessed was seized for the purpose of supporting war, and I was informed it should all go unless I voluntarily gave a shilling, I was satisfied I should not so redeem it." Such faithfulness could not but be respected.

He recovered the favor of all who knew him, and spent the rest of his life in the furtherance of moral causes with remarkable success. He was on almost every committee of the Yearly Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings. He visited Howe and Washington during the war; he appeared before the Virginia Assembly in 1782, and the year following before the Con-



tinental Congress. The first visit was satisfactory, and resulted in the passage of a bill admitting of emancipation. He was in frequent communication with public men and legislative bodies, and his close logic and earnest singleness of purpose were always influential. In 1791 he sent his memorable appeal to Congress, which stirred up one of the most acrimonious debates of that body, and which was discourteously returned to him. He died in 1798, at the age of 53, having taken the yellow fever during his attendance at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

DR. GEORGE LOGAN.—If Warner Mifflin is typical of the position of the less ambitious portion of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, it might be expected that the Logan family would furnish an example of the more active political life which still existed in its membership.

Dr. George Logan was the son of William Logan, who was, for a long time prior to the Revolution, the agent of the Penn family, and member of the Governor's Council; and the grandson of James Logan, except the Founder the most conspicuous man in the annals of early Pennsylvania. He had all the education which could be furnished to a young Philadelphian of means and cultured family traditions, in Amer-

ica and England. He was twenty-two years old when the Revolution broke out, and during the trying times when the war raged around Philadelphia and his old home at Stenton was ravaged, he was engaged in medical study abroad. He returned in 1780, and soon after married the accomplished Deborah Norris, whose uncle and great-uncle, Isaac Norris, Junior and Senior, had held most honorable positions in the public life of the Colony. The dilapidated condition of the estate decided him to abandon medicine and turn his attention to farming, and he pursued it with scientific skill and great enthusiasm. His farm became a model, and his services to agriculture, by experiments and writings, constituted an important claim to regard.

His political life began with a seat in the Pennsylvania Legislature, and he prepared to fulfil his duties with the painstaking study and conscientious fidelity which was in accord with the best traditions of the times. Unlike most of his co-religionists he was a Democrat, an admirer of Jefferson, and in general agreement with the French. The excesses of the Parisian mob threw public sympathy for a time to the side of the Federalists, and the folly of the French ministry and their ambassador, Genet, seemed about to

precipitate a war with a recent ally. Under these circumstances Dr. Logan concluded to visit France, and, without commission or authority except personal letters from Governor McKean and Thomas Jefferson, to compose the differences by endeavoring to abate the arrogance of the French rulers.

War was averted, and the American army, which Washington was withdrawn from his retirement to command, was disbanded. How much of this was due to Logan is uncertain, and will probably never be known. He had numerous interviews with Talleyrand, Lafayette, and other men of influence. Crews of American ships in France that had been imprisoned with a high hand were released, and the French embargo was lifted. These were the main ostensible grievances, and their removal paved the way to peace.

The Federalists ridiculed the self-appointed mission, and passed the "Logan Act," making such an unauthorized negotiation a "high misdemeanor," punishable with fine and imprisonment. The only case in which this act has been invoked was in 1899, when another private citizen of Philadelphia attempted in a similar way to avert the Spanish War.

The obloquy he received at the hands of the

Government and the Federalists generally did not prevent his election to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives by a large majority, in 1798, during his absence from home. He was influential here in advocating measures for the advancement of agriculture and manufactures; and in 1801 he was elected a Senator of the United States. His reelection, in 1807, was assured, but he declined.

Though coming into office as a Democrat and a friend of Jefferson, he was deeply grieved at the discharge of faithful officials of the opposite party, a practice which was then introduced into the government. Still more did he object to the tendency to embroil the nation in a war with England. After his term expired, in 1808, he again went to Europe, hoping to use some influence to soften the heated feelings which prevailed. In this he was not successful, and the war of 1812 followed. The latter part of his life till his death in 1821 he spent at Stenton, exercising a generous hospitality to men of note of all parties, which abundant means and the manners of a gentleman enabled him to dispense. Yet his life was simple, sincere and democratic.

A biographer says of him: "He was probably the only strict member of the Society of



Friends that ever sat in the United States Senate." This is hardly correct, as Jonathan Chace, of Rhode Island, must certainly be placed in this list. That Dr. Logan was sincerely attached to the religious connection of his ancestors admits of no doubt. He was a regular attender of their religious meetings, and worked valiantly for the causes of peace and liberty for the slaves. He did not, however, in his public life, even to the extent of his cousin, John Dickinson, adopt their forms of speech, nor was he, as was Warner Mifflin, a zealous working member of their church committees. His high ideals, pure life, and consistent faithfulness to well-considered conceptions of political duty were held in the highest honor, and his relation to his church was not unlike that of his distinguished grandfather.

HUMPHREY MARSHALL.—The Quaker yeomanry of the counties around Philadelphia have been remarkable for their strong morality and their intellectual cultivation. They had not the advantage of high-grade schools. Their excellent primary schools gave all of them the elements of education, and their mental vigor lifted the best of them, using what advantages they could lay their hands on, to the level of well-

trained and well-informed men. Neighborhood libraries sustained by annual subscriptions existed among them. These eschewed all fiction, and were filled with carefully-selected biography, history, travels and science. Many a vigorous boy dates his intellectual awakening to these opportunities, and many a farmer's home during the winter evenings was the scene of profitable reading, of which the whole family shared the benefit. A few, while retaining the simple farm habits of life, performed work of permanent value in science.

Humphrey Marshall was a hard-working farmer. With his own hands he built his stone house and did his full share of rural labor. But that he had an eye to scientific pursuits as well, is shown by the "hot-house" for rare plants he constructed in one corner of his dwelling, and the observatory he made on the roof. In 1773 he planned and began to create at Marshallton, in Chester County, his Botanic Garden, soon to be filled with the most curious trees and shrubs of his own and other countries. Aided by his nephew, Dr. Moses Marshall, he explored America, and gathered all that was interesting for his own garden, and for the still more noted one of Dr. Fothergill in London, who in neat terms

acknowledged his indebtedness to the Chester county farmer. In 1785 he published his "*Arbustum Americanum*," a volume of two hundred pages, "the first truly indigenous botanical essay published in the western hemisphere." \* In America it was ahead of its time, and but little read; but it received marked attention from the botanists of Europe. He spent his old age partially blind in wandering about his extensive gardens, watching as best he could the development of his favorite plants.

In local affairs he was always active. At one time he was county treasurer, and at another he was a trustee of the loan office established by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. He was interested in the erection of the county almshouse, and was among the most active in projecting and organizing the school at Westtown. Of this latter enterprise he was a member of the first committee, and his Society honored him with every mark of confidence and esteem. He died in 1801, in his eightieth year. "He was my ideal of a sage who had given his days and nights to meditation and study," said a young man who knew him in later life.

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\* Dr. William Darlington.

JONATHAN ROBERTS. — Comparatively few of the Friends followed Dr. Logan into the Democratic party. They were generally Federalists. Those few, when slavery and Andrew Jackson came up as national issues, generally deserted Democracy and became Whigs. To this class belongs Jonathan Roberts. He was born in Montgomery county in 1771, was elected to the Assembly in 1798 and to the State Senate in 1807. He was Congressman from 1811 to 1814, and for the vigor with which he supported the war of 1812, or for an irregular marriage, lost his birthright among Friends. He achieved a large reputation for ability and integrity, was trusted by President Madison, and was looked upon as the representative in the House of the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin. In 1814 he was elected United States Senator, and served his term. While a Democrat he was intensely anti-slavery. A perusal of his manuscript journal leaves the impression of a man of strong convictions, to which he was faithful, and of Democratic feelings, which he directed against the aristocratic tendencies of the Federalists, including many of his relatives among Friends, but having very little of the marks of Quakerism except moral



earnestness. He was bitterly opposed to Jackson and his principles and methods, and was a Whig delegate to the convention which nominated Harrison and Tyler in 1840. When Harrison was elected he appointed Roberts Collector of the Port of Philadelphia. When Tyler became President, Roberts sturdily refused either to discharge the employees of the office to make room for partisan friends of the President, or to resign. He died in 1854.

ROBERT WALN.—The name of Nicholas Waln has already been mentioned in these pages. After a brilliant career at the bar, and the accumulation of a large fortune, he made a remarkable renunciation of the worldly preferment which was in his grasp, and became a Friend of the most devoted and consistent kind. During and after the Revolutionary War his services to his denomination were of the highest value.

His cousin, Robert Waln, less "consistent," perhaps, and less brilliant, possessed qualities which gained him universal respect and every political position he desired. He was a Quaker shipping merchant, of perfect integrity and great enterprise. Those were the days when politics sought the best and most worthy citizens for pro-

motion, and this was emphatically true of the Federalist party. Robert Waln, after several years' service in the State Legislature, was sent to Congress in 1798. The election of Jefferson and the Democratic triumph of 1800 left his party in a small minority in the House, but he faithfully and intelligently fulfilled his duties. He presented an anti-slavery petition, around which raged one of the fiercest controversies concerning that heated subject; and sustained his part with dignity and ability. After two terms he declined further participation in public life, and was engaged in large cotton and iron enterprises at Trenton and Phoenixville. This made him examine, perhaps not altogether impartially, the subject of protection, then looming up as a political question. He became an authority, and his papers supplied the cause with facts, figures and arguments of high value.

He was greatly interested in the Quaker differences of 1827 and adjacent years, and wrote "Seven Letters to Elias Hicks," which were published, and are forcible presentations of his views. He was for a long time member of the City Councils; he was President of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Philadelphia Insurance Company, of the Mercantile Library Company;

Director of the Pennsylvania Hospital and of the Bank of North America, and Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. In the will of Stephen Girard he was named as one of the Trustees of his vast estate. No Philadelphian of his day was more honored and respected. He died in 1836, in the seventy-first year of his age.

Robert Waln is one of the long list of Friends who were active and prominent in the management of the civic, financial and benevolent institutions of Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Hospital from its beginning has had perhaps permanently a majority of its Board members of the Society of Friends. This prominence has been largely due to the fidelity with which they have discharged their duties, and the resulting confidence of the community. They generally eschewed politics, as the term is usually understood. They were, however, not infrequently members of the unpaid, and for some time honorable, City Councils.

SAMUEL COATES, when the Revolutionary War was ended, was willing to take the place in public affairs for which his culture and abilities and character fitted him. He had received an education which made him familiar with classical

authors, and a business training of a thorough sort. He accumulated a competence in mercantile and shipping ventures. In 1784, at the age of thirty-six, he was made Treasurer of the Philadelphia Library Company, and he held this position, or a similar one under the same directors for the Loganian Library, for thirty-two years. One year later he began his long and useful career as Manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, finally, in 1812, becoming the President of the Board. He resigned, after forty-one years of labor, on account of age and infirmity. His period of service as overseer of "The Public Schools founded by Charter in the Town and County of Philadelphia," now usually called the Penn Charter School, covered thirty-seven years, from 1786 to 1823. He was a director of the first Bank of the United States, from 1800 to 1812, when it wound up its concerns. No one was more trusted by Stephen Girard, and this trust was fruitful of many donations by the great "mariner and merchant" to charitable institutions in which Samuel Coates was interested. In politics he was a strong Federalist, so strong that Girard charged him sportively not to give any aid to suffering Frenchmen, for it would give too great a wrench to his sympathies.



He lived a cheerful, useful and dignified life, and died in 1830, nearly eighty-two years old. His portrait by Sully, in the possession of the Pennsylvania Hospital, shows the kindly, earnest face, the sturdy figure and the Friend's garb.

CADWALADER EVANS was another representative of the active Quaker life of the same time. He was born in Montgomery county in 1762, and made his mark as a surveyor. In 1790 he was sent to the Legislature, and served about twelve years, for a time as Speaker of the House. Later he moved to Philadelphia, and became Director of the second Bank of the United States. He strongly urged the erection of a canal along the Schuylkill, and became the first President of the Company. In 1840, as an old man, he was one of the electors that made William H. Harrison President of the United States.

ROBERTS VAUX was educated at the Friends' "Public Schools." He engaged in business for a few years only, when, deeply impressed by the death of his sister, with great solemnity he resolved to devote his life to the good of his fellow-men. This devotion never flagged to the end of his days.

Any one who has followed the ragged attempts

which Pennsylvania made to secure a general system of education after the Revolution, will have respect for the courage of any one willing to attack the gigantic problem. This was one of the first of the public enterprises of Roberts Vaux. The founder of the Lancasterian system, himself a Friend, after quarreling with his London supporters, found his way to Philadelphia. Roberts Vaux had been endeavoring for several years, as president of a committee to advance the cause in Philadelphia, to devise some means to secure education for the poor. Taking advantage of Lancasterian enthusiasm he established a number of schools. The special mode proved a failure, but public attention had been drawn to the subject, and by the time the Legislature was ready to adopt any decisive measures under the leadership of Governor Wolf, Thaddeus Stevens, Samuel Breck, and Dr. George Smith, of Delaware county, Roberts Vaux was able to assure them of the hearty coöperation of Philadelphia, which had been brought about largely by his devoted and intelligent labors.

He afterwards was President of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools, and expanded his interests from city to state. How much is owing to the judicious and

energetic operations of this society in finally securing an efficient state public school system cannot well be estimated.

In 1821 he was appointed a Commissioner for organizing and erecting the Eastern Penitentiary, and for deciding on the regulations there to be adopted. For over twenty years he was the active spirit of the "Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons." The Eastern Penitentiary, with its policy of solitary confinement at labor, with moral and religious instruction, became under his care an institution which served as a model for American prisons and received the encomiums of European travelers and penologists generally.

Nor were his efforts confined to the elaboration of a system. His personal benevolence made him a friend and adviser of the convicts, and gave him an interest in their welfare after their discharge.

He was also a Manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and had a large share in the creation of the Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, and also of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. In fact, the mere list of the institutions and societies with which he was connected would embrace almost everything of a general benevo-

lent character in Philadelphia. He vigorously took up the cause of temperance, and was President of the State Temperance Society. The Apprentices' Library, the Saving Fund Society and the House of Refuge owe their origin largely to his efforts and impulses.

His literary efforts included a biography of Anthony Benezet, a kindred spirit, and of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford. Historical and philosophical societies found in him an active official.

In 1833 he was appointed by the President a Director of the Bank of the United States. He was also requested to accept a place as Commissioner to treat with the Indians, but this tender he declined on account of the use of the military involved in the duties.

Thus we have a meagre outline of a useful and very busy life which ended before he was fifty years old. "He was," says an acquaintance, "a firm and consistent member of the Society of Friends, and his opinions were in conformity with the approved faith of that body." It was evident that a strong religious principle animated his life, and when prevented by his many duties from attending his regular midweek meet-



ing on Twelfth street, he would be found the next day in the Arch street meeting-house.

Just before his death he was made Associate Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His unremitting attention to his duties brought on an attack of disease which ended in his death in 1836.

THOMAS P. COPE was born in Lancaster county in 1768. He served his apprenticeship to business in Philadelphia, and was soon in partnership with his employer. His whole business life depended on good judgment and foresight, and was never speculative nor adventurous. Sometimes he took great risks, but the consequences of failure were fully foreseen and provided for. Thus, when the war of 1812 broke out he had a vessel at sea. The insurance company asked extravagant rates, and, carefully assuring himself of his ability to stand a total loss, he accepted the hazard. Fortune proved propitious, and the vessel came safely into port, to his great profit. He was a great merchant; Philadelphia has perhaps never had a greater; but he did not allow his large business to withhold his energies from philanthropic work or intellectual improvement. In yellow fever times, which brought out the

best in the men of those days, he did not spare himself, and was attacked by the disease.

In 1807 he was sent to the Legislature as a representative of conservatism and the existing constitution against the apprehended attacks of the Democrats. He had previously served the city in the Councils, and had been conspicuous as a member of the committee for introducing pure water;—a measure which, with their perennial perversity towards measures of reform, the Philadelphians bitterly attacked. It was his strenuous advocacy which effected the purchase of Lemon Hill, and so established the great Fairmount Park for the double purpose of providing recreation grounds and preventing the pollution of the Schuylkill. His great services and the general confidence felt in him induced the offer, under circumstances which would have insured success, of a position in the national House of Representatives. He, however, resolutely declined all political honors, and restricted his attention to his great business and the claims of the various institutions with which he was connected.

Later in life, when his affairs were more largely in the hands of his sons, he allowed himself to accept an election to the Convention of 1837, which amended the Constitution of the

State. His services were of great value, and his speeches, not numerous or long, were simple and sensible.

His business developed on his hands. In 1821 was established the packet line to Liverpool, which was, before the introduction of steam, the principal Philadelphia shipping enterprise. To him also was largely due the construction of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal; and the Pennsylvania Railroad was made certain at a critical time by the promptness and efficiency with which he as chairman of a town meeting took up its cause. Stephen Girard, his rival in business and friend, selected him as Trustee of his great estate, and the Select Council made him a Director of Girard College. He was one of the founders and afterwards on the first board of management of Haverford School. The Board of Trade and the Mercantile Library were both largely his creation, and he was President of both. His services and his generous donations were extended to almost every useful institution of Philadelphia.

As a Friend he enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his fellow-members, and in all his varied enterprises the Quaker badges were never omitted. He lived to be eighty-six years old.

**JOSIAH WHITE.**—Another of the great merchants of Philadelphia was Josiah White. When he came as a boy from his home in Mt. Holly he formed the intention of securing \$40,000 by the time he was thirty, and then retiring to easy life in a country place. He accomplished his object with two years to spare, and after a time he bought a property at the Falls of Schuylkill, embracing land on both sides and the water rights between.

This was fatal to his dreams of peaceful retirement. He was an ingenious man, and could not see this water-power going to waste. He dammed the river (the first time it had been done), and built a wire mill and a nail mill, which were not very successful for want of suitable tools and machinery. Later he devised the system since adopted of pumping water from a dam at Fairmount. A biographer, speaking of this conception and execution, says, "I know of no man to whom the citizens of Philadelphia are so much indebted as they are to Josiah White."

He had also another claim to the thanks of Philadelphians. He taught them how to use anthracite coal. It was in his furnace at the Falls of the Schuylkill that iron was first melted by anthracite. He was so convinced of its utility



not only for manufacturing but also for domestic purposes, that he made several journeys to the wilderness where Mauch Chunk now stands, and organized two companies, afterwards united into one, The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. The Lehigh was only a mountain torrent. He built locks and walls, smoothed the bottom, constructed storage reservoirs, personally superintending all the work. He built the Switchback road for bringing his coal to the river, and bought a great stretch of coal fields at Summit Hill. But perhaps greater than the mechanical and financial difficulties he solved was the difficulty of convincing skeptical Philadelphians that coal was fit to burn. The first year—1820—three hundred and sixty-five tons were brought down the tamed Lehigh, and this was more than could be sold in the city. But by the aid of grates kept burning in public places, and ocular demonstrations in furnaces, skepticism generally vanished. The whole movement was as bold and successful a legitimate mercantile venture as the state ever saw. The courageous and energetic manager reaped his financial reward, and, what he valued more, saw the vast benefit of his experiment to the trade and comfort of his city.

Josiah White lived to be nearly seventy years old, and died in 1850. He bequeathed funds to found two manual-labor schools in Indiana and Iowa, which still exist.

In the professions, the choice of Friends one hundred years ago was quite limited. The ministry was not open to them. Law was looked upon with suspicions growing into positive objections. We have seen how Nicholas Waln gave up a promising prospect as advocate when he dedicated himself to a strictly Friendly life. In time Quaker lawyers became almost as much of a rarity as professional Quaker preachers. There were, however, a number in Revolutionary times. One of them is mentioned in John Adams's Diary.

"September 17th, 1774. Dined with Miers Fisher, a young Quaker and a lawyer. We saw his library, which is clever. But this plain Friend, with his plain though pretty wife, with her *thees* and her *thous*, had provided us a most costly entertainment."

Miers Fisher afterward became a member of City Councils and of the State Legislature, and director of several prominent financial institu-

tions, retaining always, however, his love of the law and his membership at the bar.

The Quaker lawyers of the Revolution had a worthy successor in **ELI K. PRICE**. He was born in Chester county, and spent his early business life in the commercial house of Thomas P. Cope and the law office of John Sergeant. No abler real estate lawyer ever lived in Philadelphia. His signature to a brief of title was considered a perfect assurance. In 1851 he was sent to the State Senate on an independent ticket, whose especial object was to secure the consolidation of the City of Philadelphia with the outlying boroughs. The act which secured this was drafted by him, and a beautiful piece of legislation it was. In civic affairs he was interested and helpful, and Fairmount Park contains many a testimonial to his love of trees and plants. He died in 1884, in his eighty-eighth year.

But practically it may be said that the only profession open to a Friend in thorough harmony with his meeting was that of medicine, and the Quaker doctors of Philadelphia have constituted a distinguished body.

There was John Jones, the physician of Washington and Franklin; Thomas Chalkley James,

who, after a course at Edinburgh, became professor in the University of Pennsylvania and author of valuable papers; Samuel Powel Griffiths, who, with Dr. Caspar Wistar, restrained from fighting in the battle of Germantown by his principles, found useful employment in the care of the wounded, who traveled much in study in Europe, and who also held a professorship in the first medical school of America; Joseph Parrish, a great surgeon; Samuel Emlen, who gained his knowledge in the hospitals of Paris, where the victims of the Napoleonic wars were treated; Joseph Hartshorne, who, with his son, has made the name memorable in medicine; Samuel George Morton, physician and geologist, also the ancestor of a line of distinguished practitioners; George B. Wood, writer of authoritative treatises on medicine, and honored professor in the University of Pennsylvania; Thomas S. Kirkbride, the American authority on the treatment of the insane;—these and others maintained a succession of Quaker doctors of highest repute, from the time of the Revolution downwards.

If, however, we were to take one as a representative it should be CASPAR WISTAR. He was born in 1761, and obtained, in 1782, from the



University of Pennsylvania, as the custom of those days was, the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. Then for four years he studied faithfully at London and Edinburgh, and received his Doctor's degree at the latter institution. His reputation preceded him to America, and almost immediately on his return he became professor in one of the two rival medical schools into which the feuds of the Revolution had unfortunately divided the institution which is now the University. As Professor of Anatomy he was a model lecturer; always clear, sometimes eloquent. As was the case with a large number of the Friends whose names have been mentioned, he received his early education in the Friends' "Public Schools." This he afterwards improved by private study of the most varied character. His remarkable literary and classical culture and his abundant knowledge threw around his chosen profession a most interesting glow of refinement and wealth of illustration. In social conversation he was equally attractive, and once a week he threw open his house for meetings of the most learned Philadelphians to discuss subjects of interest, scientific or literary. These "Wistar Parties" were continued after his death.

His religion was unostentatious. He always

carried with him a Bible when he traveled. He was regular at meeting whenever the condition of his patients permitted, and desired that his family should always attend. His goodness dwelt about him, and was its own evidence. He was President of the Abolition Society, and took an active part in many philanthropic movements. While refusing public office, his was an influential service in all measures affecting the public good. He died in 1818.

It was not, however, in Philadelphia alone that Friends reached prominence. Perhaps in the old Quaker district of Chester and Delaware counties, the original Chester county of Pennsylvania, settled almost exclusively by them, they have had equally conspicuous influence. Friends have represented the district in the national House of Representatives for about forty years. Charles Humphreys, member of the Continental Congress, was a Friend. Richard Thomas, a birthright Friend, was a Representative from 1794 to 1800. John M. Broomall, Washington Townsend, Smedley Darlington and Thomas S. Butler have claimed allegiance to Friends. Isaac Darlington, a representative and county Judge from 1821 to 1839, was a

birthright Friend. William Butler has had an honorable career as county Judge from 1861 to 1879, and United States Judge in Philadelphia from 1879 to 1898. Dr. William Darlington, Member of Congress, perhaps the first botanist of his day in America, and a man of varied attainments, lost his right among Friends for participation in warlike operations in early life. Dr. George Smith was born in Delaware county in 1804. He studied medicine but practiced but a few years. He was State Senator from 1832 to 1836, and during his term performed the valuable service, as chairman of the Education Committee, of securing the passage of the law for free education. As superintendent of schools in his county he elaborated and defended the system against much opposition, some of which came from Friends. He was also Associate Judge of the County Court, and founder and President of the Delaware County Institute of Science, and contributor to it of papers and specimens. His "History of Delaware County" has never been surpassed as a local history. He was an interested Friend and a public-spirited citizen.

The anti-slavery cause around Philadelphia

during the first half of the nineteenth century was largely sustained by Friends. Their traditions drove them to its support. Many of them were fearful of the lengths to which the extreme abolitionists would go, and their disapproval of war, quite as pronounced as their disapproval of slavery, held them back from vigorous support of radical measures. There were advanced members and moderates, the latter probably in a considerable majority, but there were no pro-slavery Quakers. They formed the backbone of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, of which Franklin was the first president. They keenly watched the action of the Pennsylvania Senators and Representatives in Congress, and saw that they took honorable and advanced ground on the subject. It was a Quaker petition, presented by a Quaker born Senator, Jonathan Roberts, that in 1817 awoke the country to the evils of the remnants of slave trade, and opened a fierce debate in Congress. It was the Quaker in Benjamin Lundy which made him such a vehement champion of the cause and which brought William Lloyd Garrison to its support. It was Evan Lewis, a Friend, who started the movement which resulted in the first national anti-slavery convention, in 1833, in Philadelphia; and in that



convention the chairman was a Friend, and so were a large, perhaps a controlling, number of the delegates. To the declaration issued by the convention, John G. Whittier placed his name. It was the beginning of his long struggle for liberty, the most tragic portion of which was in the Quaker City. He wrote the poem dedicating Pennsylvania Hall to free discussion, and he published the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, which he conducted with so much vigor and sincerity that he was mobbed, and his plant ruined,—treatment which he bore with unflinching though quiet courage. His confidence in Pennsylvania Friends is shown by his lines of encouragement to Governor Ritner:

“No, Ritner, her Friends at thy warning shall stand  
Erect for the truth like their ancestral band.”

It was Caln Quarterly Meeting which in 1836 presented, through James Buchanan, to the United States Senate, a memorial praying Congress to enact liberty. The memorial, after fierce opposition from John C. Calhoun, was received by a vote of thirty-five to ten, and the prayer of the petitioners rejected with only six negative votes. It was the Friendly influence which made south-

eastern Pennsylvania such a popular route of the "Underground Railroad," and opened Quaker homes to house and feed fugitives in deference to a "higher law" than Congressional enactments.

In the long list of Friends who were active in this work we can only mention two as representatives.

THOMAS SHIPLEY was a Philadelphia merchant. He was educated in Westtown School, and in 1817, at the age of thirty-three, he joined the ranks of the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery." He was a careful student of the rights and interests of negroes, and became an authority on all legal and social questions involved. He was the unpaid advocate of the colored race and individual, and he served their cause as faithfully as ever a subsidized lawyer attended to the interests of wealthy clients. In times of mob violence, which unhappily were frequent in Philadelphia, his buildings were negro asylums; and his ready resources and personal courage avoided serious conflicts. In court proceedings affecting slaves or free negroes he was almost invariably present as adviser, and while never resisting legal process

he took advantage of every weakness and error in his opponent's position, and as the agent of the Abolition Society secured the freedom and the rights of many a colored person. The energy, activity and self-denial involved in these cases, the judicial decisions and precedents secured by his intelligence and careful study, and the warm-hearted sympathy which made him personally trusted by thousands of an oppressed race, place his services to the cause of freedom in the highest rank. Before his death he became President of the "Pennsylvania Society."

THOMAS GARRETT.—Of a somewhat different character but not less important were the services of Thomas Garrett. He was a Philadelphian, born in 1783, who had moved to Wilmington, Delaware, and engaged in a lucrative business. At the age of twenty-four the kidnapping of a colored woman from his father's house started him on his great work. Though living in a slave state, and surrounded by bitter opponents, he never flinched for half a century; and in this time assisted three thousand colored people to escape from slavery. He was the great organizer and manager of the "Underground Railroad" for his section, and while not directly inciting

slaves to escape, saw that they were protected and forwarded when fugitives. In 1848, under the Fugitive Slave Law, he was prosecuted four times on the charge of abducting two slave children, and was heavily fined. The auction sale of his property cleared away everything he possessed, and left him penniless at sixty. The auctioneer expressing a hope when the last piece was struck off that he would now give up his efforts for freedom, he replied, "Friend, I haven't a dollar in the world, but if thee knows a fugitive who needs a breakfast, send him to me,"—an answer which deserves record among the noble utterances of history. Good friends supplied him with funds to resume business, and he again acquired a competence. He lived to see slavery abolished, and died in 1871. At his own request his body was borne to the grave by colored men of Wilmington.

It is perhaps no impeachment of the patriotism or ability of Friends that they have not been prominent in political matters since the Civil War. The conditions which have recently prevailed in Pennsylvania have been such that a man of integrity, self-respect, and scrupulous regard for means used, could hardly secure or retain high public office. Other qualities besides



conspicuous fitness are demanded, and it is not likely that men of the character of George Logan and Robert Waln could have been selected by the majority party as candidates for office.

The energies of Friends, so far as they have been occupied with public matters, have been directed towards non-partisan and philanthropic efforts. In these they have had, in proportion to their numbers, a prominent place. Two names only need to be mentioned.

PHILIP C. GARRETT was in 1883 made Chairman of the Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania. This, which also involved the national appointment of Commissioner of Immigration of the Port of Philadelphia, he held for five years. During the administration of President Benjamin Harrison he was made a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, a position since held (1900). Perhaps his most conspicuous local service was the Chairmanship of the Committee of One Hundred, a body formed in the interests of honest politics. This body was created in 1880, and for three years was influential in securing the election of its candidates from Mayor down, much to the advantage and credit of the city. He has also been

President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and of several of the sessions of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conferences.

He graduated at Haverford College in 1851. has been Manager since 1862, and is the editor of a large History of the College. He was also an original Trustee of Bryn Mawr College, and is now President of the Board.

JOSHUA L. BAILY was educated at Friends' schools, and early showed the philanthropic tendencies which have been the motive power of his life. From boyhood his interest in anti-slavery movements showed itself in various practical ways; but his work has been most closely identified with the Temperance cause. In 1874 he established coffee-houses as counter-attractions to the saloons, a signally successful enterprise. For thirty years he has been Manager, and for five years President, of the National Temperance Society. "The Philadelphia Society for the Employment and Instruction of the Poor," "The Society for Organizing Charity," and "The Philadelphia Fountain Society," have prospered under his presidency.

In various civic affairs he has been active. He was an original member of "The Committee of

One Hundred " and of " The Citizens' Municipal Association," and is Vice-President of " The Law and Order Society." In all enterprises for raising relief funds his services have been valuable.

In recent years he has been working in the Cause of Peace and International Arbitration, and for a number of years has been Treasurer of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference.

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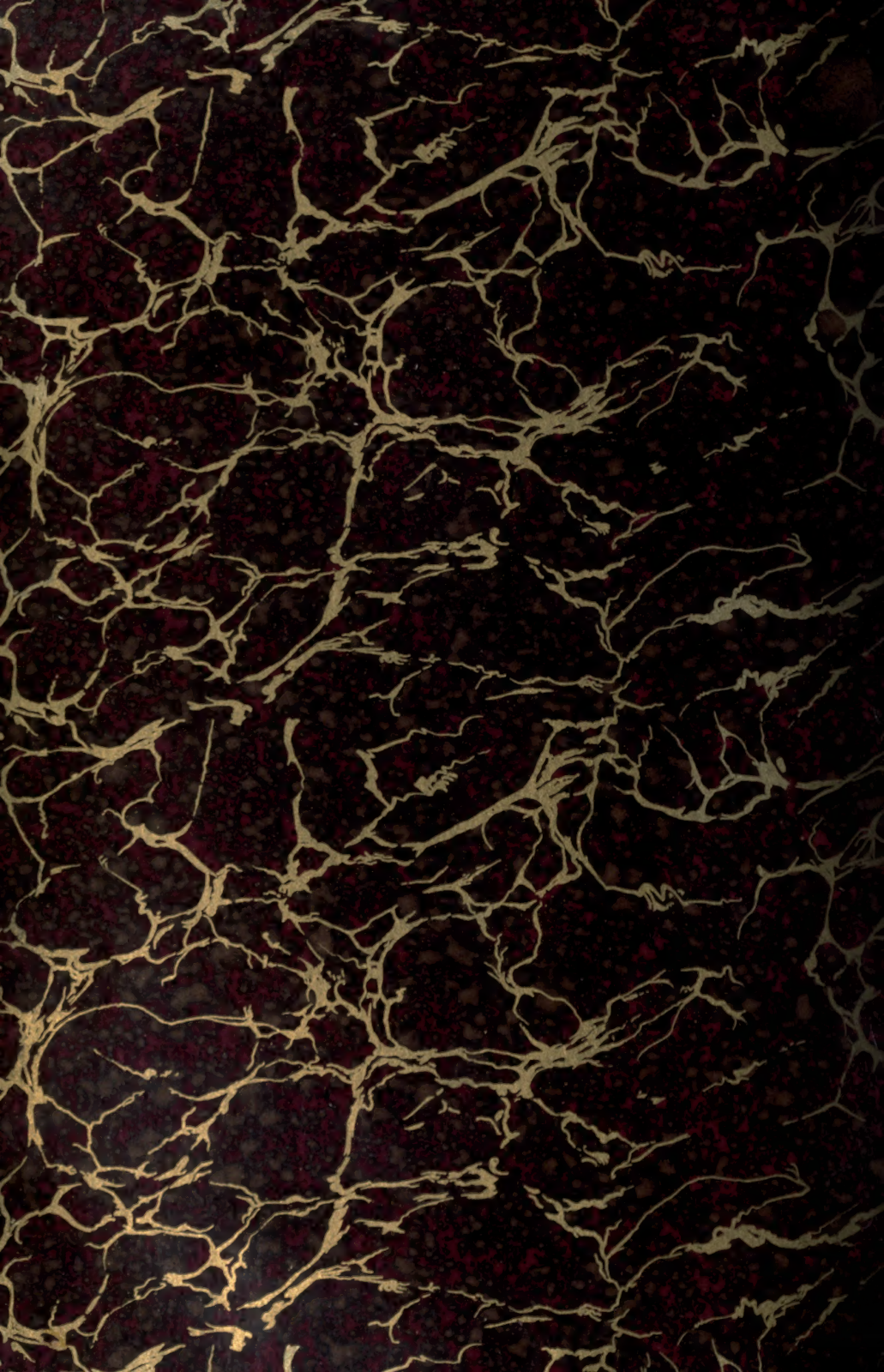














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